



# THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

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PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *last Session* of  
PARLIAMENT; continued from *Page 519.*

RESOLUTION about the Sinking Fund, &c.



ON March 11, the House of Commons (according to Order) resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider further of Ways and Means for raising the Supply granted to his Majesty; and a Motion was made as follows, *viz.* That it should be resolved, that towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, there should be issued and applied the Sum of 1,200,000*l.* out of such Monies as had arisen, or should or might arise, for the Surplusses, Excesses, or overplus Monies, commonly called the Sinking Fund: Which Motion was warmly opposed; but after a Debate the same was carried in the Affirmative: After which the following Resolution passed without any Opposition, *viz.* That the Sum of 20,578*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.* Half-penny, remaining in the Receipt of his Majesty's *Exchequer*, on Arrears of former Land-Taxes, should be applied towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, for the Service of the Year 1734. Both which Resolutions, being next Day reported to the House, were agreed to; and a Bill was ordered to be brought in pursuant to the first, and an Instruction was ordered for the Land Tax Bill Committee to receive a Clause pursuant to the second. (See the Lords' Protests on the first of these Affairs, p. 200.)

DEBATE on the Motion for repealing the Septennial Act.

ON March 13. upon a Motion made by P—p G—n, Esq; it was ordered, that the Serjeant at Arms should go with the Mace into *Westminster-Hall*, and into the Court of Requests, and Places adjacent, and summon the Members there to attend the Service of the House; and he being returned, a Motion was made by W—m B—m—ley, Esq; and seconded by Sir J—n St. A—n, for repealing the *Septennial Act*. (See both their Speeches at large, in our *Magazine* for *April*, from p. 202 to 206.)

J—n C—t, Esq; Member for W—te Ch—b in *Hampshire*, spoke next, in Substance as follows, *viz.* Sir, as I happen to differ in Opinion from the two honourable Gentlemen who have spoke in Favour of this Motion, I shall endeavour to follow them in every Thing they have said, and give my Reasons for not thinking the Arguments they have made use of any way conclusive. They have talked a great deal of our antient Constitution, and seem, I think, mighty desirous of reverting to it; but if Gentlemen will consider the Disadvantages as well as the Advantages which attended every Part of our old Constitution, I believe they will not be so very fond of returning to it. I shall agree that there were such old Statutes as have been mentioned, relating to the frequent holding of Parliaments; but that Gentlemen may recollect a little the Nature of those Parliaments, and the Rights and Prerogatives which the Crown at that Time enjoyed, or at least pretended to, I shall

shall beg Leave to read some Extracts which I have taken from one of our most judicious Writers about parliamentary Affairs; I mean the famous Mr. *Prinne* (*here he read some Extracts from his Writings, shewing the many Powers and Prerogatives which our Kings of old pretended to*). Thus we may see that the Kings of England had antiently such Prerogatives as would be very inconsistent with those Privileges which the People of this Nation now enjoy. This was our old Constitution, and I should be glad to know, if it be to this Form of Government that Gentlemen would now have us to return.

The hon. Gentleman mentioned next the heavy Complaints that were made against K. *Charles the First*, and his Son K. *James the Second*, and the great Misfortunes which both these Princes fell into by not giving Ear to those Complaints: But I must take Notice, that there never was a Complaint against either of them for continuing the same Parliament too long; all the Complaints against both were, for not calling or holding any Parliament for several Years together; and this it was that brought all their Misfortunes upon them. And as to the long Parliament in K. *Charles the Second's* Reign, it is certain that there was a great deal of more Reason to complain against their Conduct during the first Years of their sitting than there was towards the latter End; so that no Part of the History of either of these 3 Reigns can afford so much as a plausible Argument in Favour of the Motion now made to us.

It has been alledged, Sir, that the Crown must always necessarily have a much greater Influence upon *Septennial Parliaments*, than it can ever have upon those which are chosen and continued only for three Years: But it is my Opinion, if ever the Crown should attempt, if ever any Ministry should be wicked enough to endeavour to gain a corrupt Influence over the Parliament, it will be as easy to gain it over the one Sort of Parliament as over the other; for if ever the Members chosen and returned, or the Majority of them, should be such as will stoop to Corruption, the Infection may be easily spread, the alluring Baits may be thrown out in seven Days as well as seven Years; nor do I think it such a difficult or tedious Affair to find out who may be the Persons proper to be wrought on; that is a Knowledge that may be easily acquired after the Elections are over, and before it may be necessary for the Parliament to meet: Nay, if ever such a Thing should happen (which I hope never will) I am convinced it would be much more easy for such a Ministry to manage a *Triennial Parliament*, than it will ever be to manage a *Septennial*; for it is well known how strongly Men may be wrought on by Hopes and Promises; and it is certain, that by such Hopes and Promises, some might

be kept firmly attached to a Court and Ministry for two or three Years, who could not be kept so for four or five; therefore I must conclude, as Hopes and Promises are more easily given than Pensions or Bribes, it would be more easy for the Ministers to keep a *Triennial Parliament* depending upon them, than to keep a *Septennial* in any Sort of Dependence: And as to past Times, we by Experience find, that the Court has never gained much by long Parliaments; on the contrary, we have always found that the Party against the Court has gradually increased in Number by the long Continuance of the Parliament, in so much that from a small Minority in the Beginning, they have often come up to very near an Equality, sometimes to a Majority before the End; so that if we reason either from the Nature of Mankind, or from Experience, we must conclude, that the Liberties of the People are better secured by *Septennial* than they can ever be by *Triennial Parliaments*.

The present Power of the Crown has been set in the most hideous Light, and the Number of Places now at the Disposal of the Crown, has been represented as of the most dangerous Consequence to the Independency of Parliament: But in this I must think that Gentlemen are likewise very much mistaken: I must even think, that the Disposal of those Posts and Places which are necessary for the Support of our Government, rather weakens the Influence and Interest of the Crown, both in the Parliament and in the Country; because it is certain, that there is never any Post of Place to be disposed of, for which there are not three or four Candidates at least; the Crown can give it but to one, and by giving it to any one of the four, the other three are disappointed and disoblged, by which the Crown very probably raises up three Enemies, for the Sake of securing one Friend, upon whom no very great Dependence can perhaps be had; for if it be a Place for Life, the Person who got it becomes then independent upon the Crown, and may soon come to be disoblged by being refused some second Favour. This every Man who hears me must by his own Experience be convinced of, and therefore tho' it be absolutely necessary for the executive Part of our Government, which is lodged in the Crown, to have the Disposal of those Posts and Places, yet it cannot from thence be inferred, that the Power of the Crown is thereby greatly increased.

The hon. Gentlemen seemed to insinuate, that the principal Motive for passing the *Septennial Bill* now no longer subsisted; but in this also I must beg Leave to differ from them.

'Tis true, one of the Motives for passing that Bill was, the great Ferment which the Nation was then in; but this was not the principal Motive, and if it had been so, that Motive is very far from ceasing to subsist.



Does not every Gentleman know what a Spirit of Discontent, nay, I may say of Disaffection, was artfully raised over the whole Nation but last Year? And can any Gentleman say that that Spirit is now totally subsided? Or can any Gentleman believe that there was not a great deal of the Spirit of *Jacobitism* at the Bottom of those Discontents, which were then without any Ground endeavoured to be raised? I am persuaded, Sir, that the Ferment the Nation is now in, and the Ferment it was in when the *Septennial Bill* was passed into a Law, proceed originally from the same Cause, therefore I must take the Motive for continuing it to be now much the same with that which was then for enacting it; and as the Motive is now the same, I hope it will prevail with this House not to repeal a Law from which the Nation has received so great Benefit.

Sir *T——s R——n*, Member for *M——tb* in *N——nd*. Sir, I cannot content myself with barely giving a Negative to this Proposition, but must beg your Indulgence in offering a few Reasons which will induce me to be against it; and to make two or three Observations upon what has fallen from the honourable Gentlemen who have introduced and spoke in Favour of it.

In my Opinion, Sir, we should fix the Duration of Parliaments to a shorter or longer Period, according as 'twill promote the Welfare of the Nation, and support and strengthen our present Constitution; and when that is once fixed, the Consideration, whether the Thing be popular or unpopular, or whether it may be consonant to the Practice of our Ancestors, ought not to influence any Gentleman in giving his Vote.

It has been said by the hon. Gentleman who spoke first, that the renewing of the *Triennial Bill* will lessen the Expences at Elections. Sir, I think nothing is more demonstrable, than that frequent Elections will always occasion frequent Expences, and other Irregularities too notorious not to lye within the Compass of every Man's Observation; and that Men's Minds, which never fail to be inflamed in a Contest between two Parties, will always preserve those Heats in View of a quick Return of electing: That these and many other Inconveniencies can be fairly charged on *Triennial Elections* is indisputably true; and if *Septennial Parliaments* do not entirely remove these Evils, at least they mitigate their Influence.

Gentlemen have urged, that Expences at Elections are voluntary; this is indeed in some Measure true, but by this Alteration of the Law, the Temptation will never be at a great Distance; the Opportunity for Corruption, Idleness and Debauchery, will happen once in three Years instead of once in Seven; for I am afraid the Law we have lately made, which the

hon. Gentleman who made the Motion has taken Notice of, cannot yet have produced the good Effect we expected from it: Reforms of any Kind cannot be brought about on a sudden, especially in Things of this Nature, where the lower Class of the People are Parties concerned.

A Sir, the Law for *Triennial Parliaments* continued in Force for 22 Years: In that Time many Inconveniencies were found to arise from it; and it was likewise found that in many Respects it did not answer the End for which it was made. I think it lies upon those Gentlemen who are Advocates for this Proposition, and which ought to be the Foundation of their Arguments in Support of it, to shew us what the Evils are which are attendant upon *Septennial Parliaments*, and how they would be removed by the Alteration proposed: If they had done this, if any such Thing could be done, the Argument would have some Weight; but to me this appears so far from being the Case, that on the contrary, how many good Laws have passed in Favour of the Subject, how little Reason have the People of *England* to be displeased with the Actions of their Representatives since the *Septennial Act* took Place, which is 18 Years ago? What is done within every Man's Memory cannot be liable to any Misrepresentation. Histories of former Parliaments, or of past Times, may be partially related, but our own Experience cannot deceive us; and I appeal to those who now hear me, whether we have yet had any Reason to complain of the Conduct of *Septennial Parliaments*.

And besides, Sir, there is no Mischief can be done the Subject in a *Septennial Parliament*, which may not be done in a *Triennial*; but on the contrary, the short Duration of a *Triennial* will not allow sufficient Time to the completing many good Undertakings, which may be accomplish'd by a *Septennial*; Mischief being of its own Nature of quick Growth, and soon brought to Maturity; whereas Schemes for a general Good ripen by slow Degrees, and require a Length of Time in rearing up to Perfection.

F Gentlemen have brought Arguments in Support of this Proposition from the Practice and Laws of our Forefathers, and deduce the Expediency of the triennial Bill, from the original Formation of our Constitution. For my Part I do not comprehend what is meant by our old Constitution, and therefore when Gentlemen make Use of the Expression, our old Constitution, I must look upon it as an indefinite Term, which can admit of no direct Answer: But would they fix it to a Reign, or to any certain Number of Years, I could undertake to shew, that in no Period of Time they shall fix on, since the Conquest, we ever had such a one as we should be now willing to submit to, and rest satisfied

with: I know of no settled Constitution till the Revolution; 'tis from that happy Period I date our having any at all. It may indeed be agreeable to the ancient Laws of the Realm, that there should be frequent Parliaments, that is, that Parliaments should be frequently holden; but from whence will Gentlemen prove, that it has been established as a fundamental Maxim in what is called our old Constitution, that there should be frequent Elections; sure at least I am, if the Nature of our Constitution required that there should be such, the Practice of our Ancestors has not always corresponded with it.

It would be a tedious Task to shew in what Manner Parliaments have been called and holden, and to trace out all the Variations of our Laws, or rather Practice, in this Respect, since the Conquest, 200 Years after which, I believe, there was no such Thing in Being as a House of Commons, at least, if there was any such Assembly, they met but very seldom: But Gentlemen's Thoughts will prevent me in what I could offer on this Head, and therefore I shall not enter into a Detail of Particulars, with which many others may be much better acquainted; only, in general, I will venture to say, that from the earliest Records of Time to the Revolution, the Crown made Use of their Prerogative so far with Regard to Parliaments, that the People never knew when there would be a new Election, or how long the Power, they gave their Representatives when elected, might be continued to them: If we look back into our History, we shall find, in some Reigns, Parliaments chosen by the People, and dissolved by the Crown, before they were suffered to meet at all; in other Reigns, a very long Intermission of Parliaments; and in others again a Parliament perhaps in Being, but for many Years successively not once suffered to sit. These, Sir, were real Grievances: And in this reforming Age, we seem to be as uneasy, and as fond of taking Precautions against imaginary Dangers, as ever our Ancestors were about providing against those that were real.

My worthy Friend and Contemporary at the University, who seconded the Motion, has shewn the Practice of several of our former Kings in this Particular, and indeed has spoken in Favour of the Motion, with so much Decency and Weight, that it requires one much better skilled than I am in our *English* History and Parliamentary Proceedings, to do the same Justice to the other Side of the Question; but he has quoted two Reigns, which will, in my Opinion, both turn against the Motion he has so handsomely supported. These, Sir, are the Reigns of *K. Charles the First*, and *K. Charles the Second*; but before I take Notice of them give me Leave to mention another Reign, I mean

that of *Q. Elizabeth*, which both the worthy Gentlemen have very prudently avoided mentioning on this Occasion, tho' it be a Reign that is seldom forgot to be brought upon the Carpet, when a Comparison is to be made, in order to depreciate the Actions and Measures of the present Times: In the long Reign of that Queen, a Reign which lasted 44 Years, there were in all but ten Parliaments chosen, and in these ten Parliaments there were but 13 Sessions, and, except the last, never any one of these Sessions continued many Weeks together. Besides, Sir, however glorious the Reign of that Princess may be in other Respects, yet it is certain, that in many Instances she used her Parliaments in such a Manner, as, I hope, we shall never see Parliaments treated for the future.

As for the Reign of *K. Charles the First*, I little expected, Sir, that Reign would have been introduced in this Debate, especially by those who are Advocates for this Question; for surely that Reign ought to be buried in Oblivion, by those who would plead for the Liberty of the Subject, and are for lessening the Prerogative of the Crown; because in no preceding Reign was the last ever carried higher, or the other in greater Danger of being utterly subverted and destroyed. Were it necessary for the Point I am contending for, I would undertake to prove, that as long as he had any Power, he was daily attempting by his Prerogative, to have made Parliaments useless: And therefore I shall easily agree with the hon. Gentleman, that he neglected calling frequent new Parliaments: But give me Leave farther to observe, that during that King's Reign, no Parliament was called, there was not so much as one in Being; no! not for 12 Years together; during which Time History does not give the most favourable Account of him with Respect to his several Attempts upon the Liberties of his Subjects, which the hon. Gentleman has put a very handsome Gloſs upon, by saying, that these Attempts were made by the Advice of Sycophants and Flatterers: Whoever the Authors were, Sir, the Facts are true, and the Consequences, had they not been prevented, must have proved fatal to the Rights of the People. When I have said this, I would not have it understood as if I approved of the Steps afterwards taken, by which that unfortunate Prince was brought to his tragical and untimely End; but as his Fate ought to be a Warning to all future Princes, not to make any Encroachments upon the Liberties or Privileges of the Subject, so it ought to be a Warning to all those who are true Lovers of our Constitution, to be extremely cautious of introducing any new Regulations or unnecessary Amendments. And this, Sir, I take to be a Lesson much more proper for the present Question than that which my hon. Friend



Friend has been pleased to recommend to us from the Fate of that Prince; since the Question is not now about complimenting the Crown with any new or extravagant Powers, nor about denying the People any of those Rights which they are entitled to by Law.

I was equally surpris'd, Sir, to hear the long Parliament of K. Charles the second (which continued 17 Years) so much as mentioned by those who are for shortening the Duration of Parliaments; for, in my Opinion, the Conduct of that Parliament, if it proves any Thing, shews, that the long Duration of a Parliament does not necessarily make it entirely subservient to the Will of the Prince. Tho' that Parliament has since been treated with great Indignity, tho' I will not now take upon me to determine whether it deserv'd the Usage it has met with from some People; yet I think I may say, that a Majority of the Members thereof, especially towards the End of it, were steady in the Support of the Liberties of the People; and had not they made a noble Stand against the Attempts of the Crown in those Days, we should not now have been debating this Point.

Thus, Sir, the Instance of this Parliament, if it proves any Thing, I say, proves that the Parliament which sat the longest ever any did in England, could not be influenced by the Crown to come into Measures inconsistent with the Liberties of the People: And if Gentlemen will but recollect the Annals of that Parliament, they will find that it was more subservient to the Court, the first, second and third Years, than it was the sixth or seventh; and it was less so the eleventh or twelfth, than it was the ninth or tenth: And I agree with the hon. Gentleman, that the further it removed from its Original, the better Title the Members acquired to the Denomination of veteran Troops, which he has been pleas'd to compare them to; but this Title they merited for a Reason very different from what he has assign'd: It was not because they knew no other Command but from the Person who gave them their Pay, but it was, because they became every Day more and more observant of their Duty, more watchful over the Liberties of their Fellow Subjects, and less tractable to the Measures of the Court, insomuch that at last, by their persevering in an honest Opposition to those Measures, they forc'd their own Dissolution; and this always has been, and always must be the Case as to all Bodies of the same Men, when long kept together, and attempted to be seduced by Bribery and Corruption; for few Men are so entirely debauch'd and abandoned to Shame, but that sooner or later they will be actuated by the Love of Virtue and publick Good, which will at last make them stubbornly resist the

Designs of a profligate Court against the Liberties of their Country: And this was certainly the Case as to that Parliament, otherwise K. Charles would not so easily have parted with a Parliament he had been so long and with so much Expence endeavouring to form to his own arbitrary Views; therefore, Sir, if any Argument is to be drawn from this long Parliament, it may certainly be made Use of as the strongest Reason why a *Septennial Parliament* should be preferred to a *Triennial*.

As a further Proof, Sir, that the Balance of Power in the State is demonstrably more in favour of the People in a Parliament that hath its Duration for seven Years, than in one chosen every third Year; and that the Crown will always have less Influence in a *Septennial* than a *Triennial Parliament*: Let us but recollect what has happened ever since the *Septennial Law* took Place; as the hon. Gentleman who spoke last has already observed, does not Experience shew us that every Session will increase an opposing Party? Has it not been hitherto always found, that the Party against the Court has in every fifth or sixth Session been more in Number than it was the second or third? And as no Step has been made to increase either the Prerogative or Power of the Crown ever since *Septennial Parliaments* have had a Being, why should we go about to make an Alteration in that Part of our Constitution, from which we have never yet felt the least Inconvenience? Might not therefore a Desire to revert back to the Practice of our Ancestors in this Particular, be compar'd to a Man in his full Growth and Strength desiring to return back to his Childhood?

It has indeed been insinuated by both the hon. Gentlemen, who have spoken on the other Side of the Question, that undue Influence has been attempted in Elections; that Money has been sent down from the Treasury to gain Returns from Boroughs in the Country; by which the Elections have been rendered so expensive to the Country Gentlemen that it is with great Difficulty they can from their private Fortunes support such Expence, or withstand such Influence; and this is indeed the principal Argument I have yet heard made Use of in Support of this Question: Tho' I am no Way privy to, nor do I believe that any such Practices have been lately attempted; yet, Sir, upon this Occasion, I will for Argument's Sake suppose it to be true; I will suppose that the Court does intermeddle in Elections, and that Sums of Money have been sent into the Country for that Purpose; but how this comes to be owing to *Septennial Parliaments* I cannot comprehend: Would it not be as much in the Power of the Court to intermeddle in the Elections for a *Triennial*, as in those for a *Septennial Parliament*? And

if a Country Gentleman can scarce bear up against these Practices when he has six Years Respite to recover the Expences and Trouble he may have been put to by such Attempts on his Borough; for God's Sake! how will it stand with him when the Battle is to be fought every three Years? Surely he will be then much less able to bear such Expences, or to withstand such Influence; and therefore if the Court ever has endeavoured, or if it ever should endeavour to influence Elections by the Force of Money, that Influence would be much more dangerous in *Triennial* than in *Septennial Elections*; from whence I must be of Opinion, if this Question should succeed, it might in Time more effectually establish the absolute Power of the Crown, and destroy the Liberties of the People, than any other Method that could be thought of.

The worthy Gentleman who made the Motion has told us, that an Annuity for seven Years is more valuable than an Annuity for three, and from thence he seemed to infer, that a *Septennial Parliament* must be more expensive than a *Triennial*, in the same Proportion as an Annuity for seven Years deserves a better Consideration than an Annuity for three: But he does not consider that a Parliament for seven Years is above twice the Duration of one for three; so that if *Triennial Parliaments* were to come in the Place of *Septennial*, a Man must be thrice chosen before he can continue so long in this House as he would do were he to be chosen for seven Years at once; and it is certain that the Expences or the Purchase (if with him we suppose such Purchases) of three, or even of two Elections for *Triennial Parliaments*, will always amount to more than the Expences or the Purchase of one Election for a *Septennial*.

If then the Expensiveness of Elections be one of the Evils attendant upon *Septennial Parliaments*, it is certain the changing of them into *Triennial* will be so far from removing that Evil, that it will necessarily increase it. And I believe some Gentlemen will, in another Particular, find their Expectations as little answered by the present Motion: I mean, that they will not find it so popular a Motion among the Generality of Electors as some of them may imagine. It may indeed please those of the Populace who have no Votes, who are fond of Noise and Bustle, and who would be glad of any Change by which they might have a more frequent Chance to get drunk and be idle. It may also be agreeable to the lower and meaner Sort of our Electors, who have heretofore perhaps too often made their Market upon such Occasions; but to the honest Shop-keeper, and the quiet and fair Trader, who have no other Views but to gain a comfortable Subsistence, by carrying on their respective Trades, and to the better Kind of our Freeholders, and to the Gentry in ge-

neral; to all those Sorts of Men, in short, whose Inclinations we ought to have the chief Regard to, the proposing of this Bill will be found, I believe, not to be a very proper Way of paying court.

The worthy Gentlemen, Sir, who have spoken on the other Side of the Question, make a very partial Use of our antient Constitution, when they plead for a shorter Duration of Parliaments, because in former Times, Instances may be found of frequent Elections, but forget at the same Time to remind us of the different Situation of our Affairs, both at Home and Abroad. Must not proper Allowances be made for the several Changes which have since happened in our Constitution, and the different Relations we now bear to foreign Nations? For without a Parity of Circumstances, Gentlemen cannot reasonably expect an Equality of Consequences.

Formerly Parliaments sat but ten, fifteen, or twenty Days, and dispatched all the Business they had before them in that Time; we now sit four or five Months, and find sufficient Employment; the Reason of this Difference is obvious; our Government has since gone thro' so many Changes, and the Riches and Commerce of this Nation have so much increased, that this House is now engaged in a much larger Circle of Business; and at the same Time hath asserted a Right to several Powers in the State, which, till within these 100 Years, the Crown has often contested: May not Gentlemen as well infer, because some Parliaments in former Times have sat but 20 Days, that we ought now to follow their Practice in this Particular, as to plead for a shorter Duration of Parliaments, because there may be found Instances of annual Elections in remote Ages?

Would Gentlemen, Sir, who speak so favourably of antient Times, have our Parliaments brought again to be entirely upon the same Foot they were formerly? Surely, No! As the Law now stands, the Crown cannot possibly prolong a Parliament beyond seven Years, and as the Affairs of the Publick are now disposed, it must necessarily meet every Year. Formerly the Crown could keep a Parliament in Being without any Limitation of Time for their Dissolution, and, as I have said before, did sometimes prevent them, tho' elected, from ever meeting; nay, at other Times, there has been for many Years together a total Intermission of Parliaments. I therefore really think, no one can make the least Comparison on this Head; at least I suppose the worthy Gentlemen would not be willing to return to the Practice of preceding Times in these Particulars.

In short, Sir, I think the *Septennial Act* as well adapted to our present Constitution, as well calculated to answer the Purposes and secure the Freedom of Parliaments, as any Regulation



gulation that can be made; and I do not know any one particular Instance in which our Liberty and Constitution have been more strengthened and improved since the Revolution, than by those Laws which have been made relative to the chusing, sitting, and Duration of Parliaments.

Before I leave this Subject, I must take this Opportunity to return my Thanks to the hon. Gentleman who called for the reading of the *Septennial Act*, because the Preamble puts me in Mind of our being indebted to that Law, for the Prevention of a second Rebellion: I am convinced it was to that seasonable Alteration we then owed the Preservation of our Tranquillity, and perhaps every Thing that is dear to us; for the Minds of the People were at that Time so exasperated and inflamed, the Spirit of *Jacobitism* was got to such a Height in the Nation, that had an Election come on, after the first Parliament of the late King ought to have expired by the *Triennial Act*, 'tis not hard to say what fatal Consequences might have ensued. But I neither mention this as thinking it entirely our present Situation, or to draw an Argument from thence in Support of what I am contending for: However I must say that the recollecting how much we owe to the *Septennial Act*, makes me the more unwilling to part with it. 'Tis like Friendship in private Life, where we have once established a thorough good Opinion of a Man, and have received great Favours from him, it is with Difficulty, it is with great Concern we are prevailed on to give Credit to any Thing that may tend to his Disadvantage.

Many Instances might be brought, Sir, to shew the Inconveniences that would attend the Success of the Bill now proposed to us; but as I have already taken up much more of your Time than I at first intended, I shall only mention one, which is, The great Hindrance it might be in the Dispatch of our foreign Negotiations. As we have been within Doors often told of Reports without Doors, I must take the Liberty to mention one which we have heard both within and without. Have we not often heard without Doors, have not we been told in a former Debate in this House, that several Letters have been lately sent to foreign Courts, in order to discourage them from treating with us at this critical Juncture, by assuring them that the next ensuing Parliament will be of a Complexion very different from this? I cannot in the least suppose that such Letters were either written or concerted by any one within these Walls; but I must presume the Authors are by this Time convinced of their Error, since I find so much Pains has lately been taken, and so much Rhetorick employed, both in weekly and other Papers, to persuade us of the Inconvenience of the *Septennial Act*, and the

Necessity of repealing it; from whence I conclude, that those Gentlemen, who were the Authors of such Letters, begin now to see that they will be disappointed in their Expectations; and in order to make Amends for this Disappointment, they are for repealing the *Septennial Act*, that they may have a fresh Opportunity of taking another Trial four Years hence. But be this as it will, it is certain, that what I have just mentioned may be practised, and will always be an Inconvenience and a Hindrance in the carrying on of our foreign Affairs, towards the End of a *Septennial Parliament*: And shall we by a new Law give an Opportunity and a Temptation to the Enemies of the Government, to repeat those and such like Practices and Suggestions, to the great Prejudice of the Nation, at the End of every three Years?

Before I conclude, Sir, I cannot help observing, that during the seven Years I have sat in Parliament I have heard many Questions introduced into this House which have very much surprized me. Among others I have heard a Proposition made, which, as it appeared to me, would have made the Army useless upon any Emergency, when we might have had the greatest Occasion for their Service. I have heard another Question about making a perpetual Law to regulate an annual Constitution, which would indeed have had a quite different Effect from the former; for in Process of Time this last Question, had it succeeded, might have made the Army our Sovereign, and King, Lords and Commons, insignificant: And the Proposition now before us, would, in my Opinion, tend to weaken our greatest Security, I mean the landed Interest of the Kingdom, by giving them frequent and unnecessary Temptations to extraordinary Expences, and might further introduce new Calamities and Confusions into this Nation. What other Question can follow to keep Rank with those I cannot divine; but the Spirit of Reformation seems to be now so very much the Fashion, that I do not doubt but fertile Imaginations will always find, and will never be at a Loss for popular Topicks to introduce.

No State, Sir, was ever so exactly framed in all its Parts, as not to make new Laws sometimes necessary to remedy the Evils which Time and Corruption may bring upon it; and for this Reason every State is invested with a Power of altering or repealing old Laws, and substituting new in their stead, where those existing are found to be deficient: In this I shall agree with the hon. Gentlemen; but give me Leave farther to observe, that this Power may be made Use of to the Overthrow as well as the Support of the Constitution; and therefore when we proceed to the Exercise of this Part of the legislative Power, especially in Things which relate to the very Fundamentals

damentals of our Constitution, the worthy Gentlemen will, I hope, agree with me, that we ought to use it with the greatest Prudence and Caution.

At present, Sir, I think our Constitution is so well regulated in all its Parts, the Scales are so justly poised, as not to want any new modelling, nor any additional Weight to be thrown into the other Scale: We must be all so sensible of the Happiness we enjoy under our Constitution, as now established, that our chief Concern and Study ought to be how to preserve it in the happy Situation it is now in; and if we can transmit it to our Posterity in the same Lustre and Perfection we now clearly perceive it to be in, our Successors will have no just Reason to accuse the present Generation of having made an ill Use of that great Trust which is reposed in every Man who has a Voice in this Place. All Changes, tho' never so well intended, are hazardous; but as the Change now proposed appears to me, I think it would certainly have a quite different Effect from what these worthy Gentlemen expect who are the Advocates for it: I am persuaded, that instead of amending or improving, it would weaken the Constitution; and therefore I think it a Duty I owe my Country to give my dissent to it, in this publick manner.

L—d N—l S—t. Sir, Tho' the honourable Gentleman who made this Motion, and the honourable Gentleman who seconded it, have supported it in so strong and handsome a Manner, that an Attempt to add any Thing to what they have said, especially in one so young and unexperienced as I am, may be looked on as Presumption; yet I cannot help declaring my Approbation of the Motion in the best and most publick Manner I am able.

The honourable Gentleman who read you a long Extract out of Master *Prinne*, seemed rather, in my Opinion, Sir, to divert than instruct the House; and tho' I could not join with Gentlemen in their Mirth upon so serious a Debate, yet I must own I cannot conceive to what Purpose that long Extract was read to us upon the present Occasion: Nor can I see what the Question now before us has to do with the Prerogative of the Crown, either as now enjoyed, or as claimed in any Time past. Because Gentlemen have mentioned our old Constitution, and have taken Notice of a particular Regulation with respect to the holding of Parliaments, which was then in Force, and which they desire to be re-established; is it from thence to be inferred, that they desire to restore, in all its Parts, our ancient Constitution, as it stood at any Period of Time. No, Sir, when we talk of our old Constitution, with regard to any Amendment or Alteration now proposed, we are to pick out those Customs, which appear to be good, and which ought to be restored; and we are to reject those which appear to have been bad.

The Question now before us, Sir, is not whether our Constitution be now in the general better regulated than it ever was at any former Period. The Question now before us is particular; it is, whether our Constitution, with respect to the holding of Parliaments, was ever under a better Regulation than it is at present?

A And that it was so seems to me to be demonstrable from the very Nature and Design of Parliaments; for this House is properly the grand Inquest of the Nation, they are to represent the Grievances of the People to their Sovereign, and the People are always to choose proper Representatives for that Purpose; that Choice ought therefore to be annual, because the Person that may be a proper Representative one Year, may before the next, or at least very soon after, be concerned in making the People suffer those very Grievances which they want to complain of; and surely such Person would not then be a proper Representative of the People, nor would they choose him had they it in their Power to make a new and free Choice.

C This, Sir, was our old Constitution, with respect to the holding of Parliaments: They were, or at least ought to have been, not only annually held, but annually chosen: It is well known that Prorogations are but of a late Date; they were first introduced to favour the arbitrary Views of some of our ambitious Kings; and as they owed their Origin to such a corrupt Fountain, I am persuaded we never can from them expect any Good. However, Sir, the Question now before us does not go so far, nor are we obliged to have Recourse to remote Ages for a Precedent for what is now proposed: When we now talk of our old Constitution we are to consider it as it was settled and reformed at the Revolution, and at that Time, as has been before observed, the Patrons of Liberty did not think their Work

D was compleat without having the Point fully and clearly settled; and therefore they were never at Rest till they had obtained that very Law which is now desired to be restored: For this Reason I cannot but think that Gentlemen have given themselves a very unnecessary Trouble in explaining to us so particularly the History of former Reigns, or the Complaints against former Kings; for the not holding any Parliament at all, or the continuing the same Parliament for a great Number of Years is in effect the same; in the last Case as well as the first, the People have no Opportunity of having their Grievances either represented or redressed, because after a Number of Years the Members may either become unacquainted with, and regardless of the Grievances of the People, or they may themselves have so great a Hand in those Grievances, that for their own selfish Ends they will prevent their being redressed.



It has been said, Sir, that the restoring of this Law would create great Heats, and raise dangerous Contentions in the Nation. If it were a new Law, a Law which we had never any Experience of, this Argument might have some Weight, but the direct contrary of this is known to be true from the Experience we had of it, while it was allowed to continue in Force. Besides, Sir, this is one of those Arguments that prove too much; for it is as good an Argument for us to continue our selves for seven Years longer, or indeed for a perpetual Parliament, as it is for a *Septennial*: And it is an Argument that has in all Countries been made Use of for subverting the Liberties of the People. In all free Countries there must now and then happen some little Feuds and Divisions among the People, which ambitious wicked Men have used all their Cunning and all their Eloquence to set in the most terrible Light, and under the Pretence of preventing those Feuds and Divisions, have in most Countries prevailed upon the People to give up, or at least to allow themselves to be robb'd of those Privileges which were their only Defence against Tyranny and arbitrary Power.

Another Objection against this Motion is, that a *Septennial Parliament* is necessary for establishing and confirming our Credit abroad. If this, Sir, be yet to do, if our Credit abroad remains yet to be either established or confirmed, I will say that we have lately spent many Millions, and have made many Treaties to very little Purpose. Is not this likewise an Argument for settling the Duration of our Parliaments at a much longer Term? For if our Credit abroad were any Way strengthened by a Parliament to continue for seven Years, would it not be much more so by a Parliament to continue for seven Times seven? But this is not the Case; our foreign Neighbours judge better of the Condition and Circumstances of this Nation, than some of ourselves seem to do; our Credit among them depends upon their believing that there is an Union and mutual Confidence between the King and his People; and is there any Thing can tend more towards lessening their Belief in this Respect, than their hearing that the King does not incline to trust his People with a frequent Choice of their own Representatives? Will not every Man from thence conclude, that either the People are disaffected, or that the Government is pursuing such Measures as they think may not be agreeable to the Generality of the People? And I believe it will be allowed that such a Notion would not contribute much towards establishing or confirming our Credit abroad.

While no Measures are pursued but such as are for the Honour and Interest of the Nation, it is certain that a Parliament sent here by the free Choice of the People for three Years,

or even but for one, would be as ready to confirm those Measures as a Parliament sent here for seven Years. But if ever it should hereafter happen that Measures, even destructive to the Nation, should be pursued, only to save and support a falling Minister, or by Way of temporary Expedients only, to put off the evil Day during his Time, he might indeed have a better Chance to get such Measures confirmed or approved of by the Members of a *Septennial Parliament*, who had such a long Term to reap the Fruits of their servile Compliance, than he could have to get such Measures confirmed or approved of by the Members of an *Annual or Triennial Parliament*, who must soon return to the People for their Approbation or Disapprobation of what they had done: And a Parliamentary Acquittal would be of much more Consequence in the first Case than in the last; for if an *Annual or Triennial Parliament* should be servile enough to approve of Measures contrary to the general Sense of the Nation, the People would soon have an Opportunity of doing themselves Justice in a new Parliament; but if the People were to have no such Opportunity for seven Years, it might then be out of their Power.

It has likewise been said that frequent new Parliaments would produce frequent Changes in our Administration, so that we never could steadily pursue any Measure Foreign or Domestick. As to Changes, Sir, in our Administration, if *Triennial or Annual Parliaments* should produce *Triennial or Annual Ministers*, it would give me no great Concern, and I dare say, the Nation very little Uneasiness; but how this should make us unsteady or unsettled in the Pursuit of our publick Measures either Foreign or Domestick, I cannot indeed conceive; for if the Measures were apparently for the Good of the Publick, the new Ministers would certainly, for their own Safety and Honour, pursue them as steadily as the old could have done; and if the old had entered upon any Measures inconsistent with the Good of the Nation, I think the Change of Ministers would be a lucky Change for the Nation, because it would put a Stop to the Pursuit of such Measures. So that if there were nothing else could be said in Favour of the Motion, this very Argument that has been made Use of against it, would be sufficient for persuading me to give my Vote for it.

The hon. J<sup>n</sup> C——— is, Esq; Member for E——— in *Suffolk*. Sir, I have indeed heard some Mention made without Doors of the Proposition now under our Consideration; but I never expected to have heard it moved in this House, especially at a Time when the Circumstances of *Europe* ought to prevent our attempting any Thing that may in the least tend towards weakening our Constitution, or unsettling

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unsettling the Measures of his Majesty's Government. As for my own Part, Sir, the Question can no way affect me: Let it be agreed to, or let it be rejected, as to my particular Circumstances they will remain the same; but as we are not to regard our private or particular Interest, but that of the whole Community, in every Question that arises in this House; I therefore think I am obliged not only to give my Vote against this Question, but to give my Reason, at least the principal Reason which induces me to be against it: And it is this, that, in my Opinion, the Motion seems calculated for no other End but to continue that Ferment and that Spirit of Division and Disaffection which was so artfully raised in the Nation upon a late memorable Occasion, and which has already almost subsided, and must entirely subside, as soon as

the People shall have come to their right Senses, so as to be able to judge coolly and impartially about that Affair: But this they could never come to do, if the present Motion should succeed; the Nation would be kept always in a Ferment, the Divisions about one Election would no sooner be over than those about another would begin, and the Passions of the People would be every Year screwed up by some new Art, in order to support or render successful the ambitious Views of some private Men; this would of Course very much weaken his Majesty's Government, and diminish his Influence in all Foreign Negotiations; for which Reason I shall most heartily give my Vote against the Motion now made to us.

[To be continued.]

### *A Relation of the Retreat of King STANISLAUS from DANTZICK; in a Letter written by himself to a Person of Great Distinction.*

AS I can easily figure to myself your Uneasiness at my leaving *Dantzick*, 'tis but just that I relate to you the Manner of it: The Zeal you have shewn for my Interest, claims this from me; and you will see in it the all-powerful Hand of God, who can support us when every human Assistance fails, and we seem inevitably lost.

I am sensible it has been thought imprudent in me, for continuing in that City till it was reduced to the last Extremity: But when we act from Principles of Conscience, of Honour, and our Country's Love, may we be allow'd to arm ourselves against Danger, and to prefer the Security of our Persons to those three Principles, which constitute the Man of Honour?

For besides that I expected Succour daily, and a hasty Retreat would have put me out of Condition to receive them, I should, by my leaving *Dantzick*, have open'd the Gates of it to the Enemy, the Magistrates holding out the Siege from no other Motive than to defend me. Thus, laying aside the Vanity which a Consciousness of Resolution and Intrepidity might inspire, I was oblig'd, either to continue in the City, in order that the expected Succours might have Time to arrive; or bury myself in the Ruins of it, with those brave Citizens, and those dear *Polish* Friends, who with their Wives and Children shar'd my Fate. I persisted in this Resolution till the infamous Surrender of *Munda*\*, the capitulating of which, forc'd the *Dantzickers*, with my Consent, to provide for their own Safety: Upon which Occasion, finding they were going

to change their Sovereign, I thought myself bound in Gratitude, not to expose them to the Grief of abandoning me, but to dispense with their Fidelity by my leaving their City, which, how desperate a Resistance soever had been made, could not have held out any longer; not to mention my being solicited by all the *Polish* Noblemen, who made their Safety consist in my Preservation; so that after the Enemy demanded the Surrender of my Person as the first Article of the Capitulation, I resolv'd to leave *Dantzick*.

'Twas on this Occasion I experienc'd the Zeal of those who are sincerely attach'd to my Interest, by the different Projects which were form'd to facilitate my Escape, insomuch that a Lady, confiding in a Peasant of that Country whom she knew, was so much a Heroine, as to offer to disguise herself as a Peasant, and pass for my Wife.

Another Expedient was propos'd to me, and this was, to put myself at the Head of an hundred intrepid Men, and force a Way thro' the Enemy: But I judg'd it impracticable, because of the Inundation, which extended three Leagues one Way, and of the Lines of Circumvallation on the other, which it would be impossible to pass on Horseback. The Method I concluded the safest, was that which the A——r propos'd; and accordingly I went to his House, in order to put it in Execution, on the Evening of the 27th of *June*, being Sunday, upon pretence of spending a quiet Night there, by removing out of Danger of the Bombs, which began to fall in that Part where I resided.

\* *Wechselmunde.*



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At Ten in the Evening, having disguis'd myself as a Peasant, with only a coarse Shirt on, and accompanied by General *Steenfieth*, I left the A——r's House to go and meet an Officer who waited for me on the Rampart, where being arrived, we cross'd the Ditch in two little Boats; the Officer leaving us behind, rode forward to secure a Post held by a subaltern Officer and a few Soldiers; immediately a Quarrel arose, and in a Moment I saw the subaltern Officer present his Piece to the other, refusing to let either himself or his Company pass; his over-great Vigilance oblig'd the Officer to tell him that it was I; but the subaltern Officer suspecting his Veracity, came to the Boat, look'd me in my Face, and knowing me, tho' 'twas the Dusk of the Evening, made me a very low Bow, and wish'd me a good Journey. As the subaltern Officer knew me, I was assur'd that my Escape would be no longer a Secret, and consequently that my Safety was very precarious. After taking Leave of the Officer, we row'd thro' the Inundations, in Hopes of reaching the *Vistula* to cross it the same Night, and to arrive by Day-break beyond such Posts of the Enemy as lay nearest to the City. But how great was my Surprise, to see the Peasants, after they had rowed about a Quarter of a League, carry us to a poor Hut which stood in the Middle of the Waters, and tell us, that we must pass all that Night and the next Day in it, the Night being already too far advanced for us to get to the *Vistula* before Day-break! We were forced to obey, and accordingly landed, but with heavy Hearts, because of the little Haste we made, and the evident Hazard we run.

We went into the Room, and as the Sight of it made me have no great Inclination to sleep, there not being so much as a Corner for me to rest myself, I took this Opportunity to get acquainted with my illustrious Company, which consisted of four Persons: The first was our chief Guide, who appear'd to me the Moment I saw him (and I was not mistaken in my Conjectures) a very silly Fellow: He assum'd an Air of Authority, and claiming Obedience to his Orders, would not suffer any one to debate or argue. I should willingly have submitted to this Subordination, had I not perceived that our Commander (tho' he was wholly unacquainted with such Posts of the Enemy as it was necessary for us to avoid, fir'd by no other Motive than the large Reward the A——r had promised him) was determin'd to conduct us at Random. The second, whose Name and Profession I enquir'd, answer'd, that he was a Merchant, but had fail'd: He spoke the *Polish* Tongue, and appear'd a Person of Merit. The other two were *Schnapban*s\*, and seem'd by their Air and Manner complete

Villains. I spent the rest of the Night on a Bench, leaning upon the Merchant, with whom I made myself most familiar, by Means of the *Polish* Tongue, which gave us an Opportunity of conversing together with Ease.

On *Monday* Morning, being the 28th, I left the Room, in order to take a View of the City, which was still bombarding. When I reflected on its unhappy Fate, especially as all the good faithful Friends I left in it would soon be obliged, against their Will, to declare themselves my Enemies, I could not possibly have felt greater Tortures, had my Entrails been torn away: But afterwards reflecting on myself, not knowing whither to go, or what to do; altho' I was so hardened by Misfortunes, I yet should have sunk under them, had it not been for the immediate Assistance of the Almighty. Whilst I was revolving these Things, I heard the Enemy fire from all their Batteries and from their Fleet, accompanied with a general Discharge of their small Arms: I concluded that this was by way of rejoicing for the taking of *Munde*, which gave me no little Disquiet; and indeed I was in such deep Affliction, that General *Steenfieth* was obliged to pull me by the Sleeve, and awake me as out of a deep Sleep, in order to make me partake of a poor Soup he had dress'd. A little after a *Schnapban* landed from his little Boat, saying that his Captain had sent him, with a short Letter and two little Pieces of dried Tongue, for General *Steenfieth*. The Letter was sent to wish him a good Journey, but we could never discover who it came from, nor by what Means the *Schnapban* found us out. I drew a mournful Consequence from hence, as it shew'd that our Departure from *Dantzick* was no longer a Secret; to which I added, the slow Progress we made; two important Articles, the failing in which could portend no Good. But Heaven was pleas'd to order it so, to keep us from confiding in human Measures, and oblige us to rely on his holy Providence only, by which he conducted us. I was very impatient all the Remainder of that Day till Night came, in the Beginning of which we embark'd, rowing perpetually through Reeds and impracticable Places, being oblig'd every Moment, where there was no Depth of Water, to draw the Boat over Marshes into the Ditches where there was some. About Midnight we arriv'd, as we thought, near the Bank of the *Vistula*, where our Conductors oblig'd us to land, and these, after holding Council together, without communicating the Particulars of it to us, order'd General *Steenfieth* to walk on Foot along the Bank with our chief Conductor, and the Bankrupt Merchant who

4 E 2

spoke

\* Peasants who ramble about in Parties and rob Passengers.

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spoke *Polish*; after which the two *Schnapbans* went again into the Boat with me, assuring me, that we should meet with our Companions at about a League's Distance from the Place where we then were.

I was no way pleas'd with this Separation, fearing that I should not meet again with General *Steenflietb*.

I suppos'd, that being now arriv'd at the *Vistula*, we were to cross it at this Place; but I was mistaken, for 'twas the farther Side of the *Nering*, whence there would have been no Possibility of our getting away.

After we had row'd on very painfully during two Hours, I enquiring after our Comrades, was answer'd, that they were before, and that we should soon be up with them. As Day began to peep, and all the Houses thereabouts were frequented by *Muscovites* or *Cossacks*, it would not be possible for us to reach, before the Gloom was dispell'd, the Place where we were to cross the *Vistula*; we therefore were forced to stop once more at a House belonging to a Peasant, with whom my Conductors were acquainted. As we were going in, the Peasant was ask'd whether any *Muscovites* lodg'd in his House, he answer'd there did not, but said that several came to it in the Day-Time; notwithstanding this, we were forced to stay with him; a Moment after which my two *Schnapbans* took me into the Garret, threw me a Bundle of Straw, and bid me lie still, saying, that they in the mean Time would be upon the Watch, and go in Quest of my Companions.

After being kept awake two Nights, I wanted a little Sleep, but that was impossible; and finding my Bed very hard, I rose up and look'd thro' a little Window, whence I saw, about twenty Paces from me, two *Muscovites*, who were looking after their Horses which fed in the Meadow: An Officer was walking up and down thereabouts, and a Party of *Cossacks* (six in Number) pass'd within half a Dozen Paces of me. This unpleasant Sight oblig'd me to retire immediately to my Bundle of Straw, to reflect on the Means how to extricate myself from this Blockade, not knowing that it was still closer than I imagin'd; for the Landlady came and whisper'd me not to make a Noise, saying, that there were five *Cossacks* at Breakfast in her House. Upon receiving these Orders I did not stir once; and, during the two Hours they staid there, I over-heard from my Garret all their Discourse, which related to the Siege of *Dantzick*. After they were gone, the Landlady, having probably reflected, by the Apartment I had been thrust into, that there was some Mystery in all this, came again to me, ask'd me simply whence I came, and who I was, saying, that she knew very well, by the *German* I spoke that I was not

of that Country, and saw by my Face that I was not a Peasant. I made her believe whatever she pleas'd: But 'twas much worse when she told me, that her House was in Danger, and that the *Muscovites* would burn her alive in case they found me in it. I trembled at these Words, being afraid she would turn me out of Doors; but us'd all the Arguments possible to remove her Fears, and desir'd her not to disturb me.

'Twas on *Tuesday* the 29th, when finding myself alone in this Garret, separated from General *Steenflietb*, I suffered a very cruel Kind of Torment, which is, the being incapable to act when we are endued with the greatest Activity, and the being obliged to wait, motionless, in Expectation of the most dismal Accidents. This State of Inactivity suggested the most gloomy Reflections, in the Midst of which I made two that gave me real Consolation; first, that God had depriv'd me of General *Steenflietb*, the only Man who could assist me, purposely that I might confide in him only; and, secondly, that 'twas visible a Divine Providence superintends all Things. You are to know, that at my leaving *Dantzick* the A——r had given us two hundred Ducats, one hundred to *Steenflietb* and one hundred to me: The Moment we set out, as I am not us'd to carry Money about me, and finding it heavy, I resolv'd to ease myself of it instantly, and give it *Steenflietb* to keep. However, notwithstanding the great Inclination I had to do this, I yet (but how I can't tell) delay'd giving it him: And after we were separated, I consider'd the dreadful Condition I should have been in had I been without a Penny about me: Which Circumstances reviv'd me, and made me firmly believe, that I was under the immediate Protection of Heaven.

Quite tir'd with my present Situation, I came down, in order to get some Intelligence from my Guides. These told me, that they knew General *Steenflietb* was not above a Quarter of a League off, and would come up with us that very Night, at the crossing of the *Vistula*; and that the Boat was quite ready to carry us over; but as the Wind blew very hard, they did not know whether it would be safe for us to cross, it being but a very small *Vedelin*. I told them that we had no Time for debating; and that as we could not run a greater Hazard than in slaying where we were, it was absolutely necessary for us to set out at all Adventures.

This Resolution being taken, the Moment it began to grow Dark we step'd into the Boat, and left it a Quarter of a League farther at the Extremity of the Floods. We then walk'd a large League to the *Vistula*; it being a Marsh, we walk'd the greatest Part of the Way up to the Knees in Mud. Being got



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to the Bank, one of my *Schnaphaus* bid me stay there with his Comrade, saying, that he, in the mean Time, would go a Quarter of a League farther, and see whether the Boat was at the Place he had appointed. There we waited a full Hour for him; when he at last return'd, to tell us, that he had not found the Boat, and that the *Muscovites* must have carried it off. What could we do? only return from whence we came. Accordingly we walk'd another League back, and at last got to a House, the Landlord of which appear'd a rational, active, resolute Man. He engag'd to procure me a Passage over the *Vistula*, and was as good as his Word; and hiding me in his Garret, he went to look for a Boat, and to enquire whether it would be safe for us to cross over.

On *Wednesday* the 30th, not being able to sleep, as I was standing at my Garret Window, I had the Pleasure to see our chief Guide, who had wander'd with General *Steenfieth*, come into the House. Immediately I enquir'd after the General, and was answer'd, that he went the Night before to the Rendezvous at the Passage of the *Vistula*, where the *Cossacks* met 'em on the Bank; that he himself had taken to his Heels; but as for General *Steenfieth*, he did not know what was become of him: Whence I concluded, that I had quite lost him. Nevertheless I behav'd with Courage under this new Disappointment, when I reflected, that since I was thus abandon'd, it would be absolutely necessary for me to rouse up all my Faculties, and not suffer myself to be over-power'd by Affliction, how grievous soever it might be. As I was thus labouring with these inward Struggles, my Landlord came, about five in the Evening, and said, that he indeed had met with the Boat of a Fisherman, at whose House two *Muscovites* lodg'd, but that there was no getting thither, because of the great Number of *Cossacks* who were dispers'd up and down, either to look after their Horses that were grazing in the Meadows, or in Search of me, my retiring from *Dantzick* being no longer a Secret, and that they seiz'd all such Peasants as were about my Age and Stature.

At this News, I concluded that it would now be impossible for me ever to escape. I then held a Council with the Peasants, the Result of which was, that we should continue that Night, and all the next Day, in the same Place; which we did accordingly.

On *Thursday* the 1st of *July* I again summon'd our Council, to enquire whether there was no other Passage where we might cross with Safety. I am to inform you, that our Consultations were regulated by a great Bottle of Brandy, which the A——r had caus'd to be put into a Hamper, that serv'd as a Bottle-Case, with a Bottle of *Hungarian*

Wine, to which, I may justly affirm, I ow'd my Subsistence, during the seven Days of my vagrant Life. To return to the Brandy: It was necessary to proportion the Quantity of it; for when my Peasants took but a Sup, they would be faint-hearted, and declare, they could not see how it would be possible for us to go forward, and that they were afraid of being taken and hanged; but when they drank more, they would have conducted me through the Enemy's Camp. By this means I was ever fluctuating between two very dubious Extremes: Add to this, that I spoke so little *German*, that I could scarce explain myself, or understand their Jargon.

About six in the Evening, the Landlord of the House came, with an Air of Joy, and assur'd me, that all the *Cossacks* who had been in the Neighbourhood the Night before, were gone; that the Passage was open, and that the Boat waited for me on the Shore of the *Vistula*, at a League's Distance from the Place where we then were. I waited very impatiently for the Dusk, which being come, I mounted a Horse, and set out with my Landlord, who got upon another. The Order of our March was thus; the Landlord was to ride before, I was to follow him at fifty Paces Distance, and the three Peasants were to walk on Foot, and form the Rear-Guard.

In this Manner we pass'd thro' dreadful Sloughs, in which my Horse, who could scarce stand upon his Legs, fell upon his Nose at every Step he took. We could perceive the Enemy's Fires every where round us; and were forced to pass, upon Account of the Ditches, very near the Village of *Heysmark*, where there was a very considerable Post. 'Twas here the Enemy embark'd their Artillery and Ammunition, in Proportion as they arriv'd.

Having rode happily half a League without meeting with a single Person, my Landlord desir'd me to halt there, saying, that he, in the mean Time, would go once more and see whether the Passage was open, the Place being most difficult of Access. I had not waited long before he return'd in the utmost Surprise, and told us, that all the Neighbourhood thereabouts was full of other *Cossacks*; that he had even been examin'd, but had got clear, by declaring, that as he was carrying Provisions to the Army, he had lost his Horses in the Meadows, and was then looking for them. At this News all my Companions were in the utmost Consternation, and declar'd unanimously, that we must return to the Place from whence we came. As we should have run a manifest Hazard in so doing, I assur'd them that I would never agree to it; and that all we had to do was to arm ourselves with great Clubs, and knock down the *Cossacks*, in case we were superior in

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in Number and could over-power them; or otherwise to use the same Expedient in which our Landlord had succeeded, viz. to say that we were looking for our Horses, which were stray'd in the Meadows. However this Proposal was not relish'd, upon which my Landlord bid us halt, saying, he would go once more upon the look-out, and see whether he could not find a Passage either to the Right or Left.

Whilst this was doing, (we all lying upon our Bellies) my three miscreant Peasants were going to abandon me, declaring continually that they would not be hang'd. Hearing this, the only Favour I requested, was, that they would stay till my Landlord came back. Accordingly I prevail'd with them; and the Landlord return'd soon after, to tell us, that the *Cossacks* were gone, and that the Passage was open that Instant. Immediately I mounted my Horse, and my three Peasants follow'd me at a great Distance, firmly resolv'd to run away in Case any unlucky Thing befel me or my Landlord. We walk'd for half a League, till we came to the Bank, when we saw coming towards us a little *Muscovite* Waggon, with three Men in it; upon which we ran behind a Tree, and stood there unperceiv'd. We left our Horses at a hundred Paces from hence, and walk'd on Foot a Quarter of a League. My Landlord, making me lie down among the Flags on the Shore of the *Vistula*, went in quest of the Boat. However, he did not leave me long in this Posture, and I soon saw him return with the Boat, at the very Time that my three Peasants came up with us. We then embark'd, and by the manifest Assistance of God, reach'd the other Side of the *Vistula*.

There, we very fortunately found a large Village, where we arriv'd on *Friday* the 2d of *July*, at Day-break. I was no sooner got into it but I ask'd for Horses, in order to proceed on my Journey; but this was not possible. My Peasants, who now thought themselves out of Danger, went into a House, laid down, in Spite of all the Arguments I could use, and fell into a deep Sleep. I was forc'd to let them sleep on, and walk about the House as Centinel: But grown quite weary of this Post, I return'd into the Room, when waking very gently, and with the utmost Caution, one of my Peasants, I intreated him, in the softest Words, to go and hire Horses for us. Accordingly he rose, went out, and return'd in about two Hours, but so drunk that he could scarce stand upon his Legs, bringing with him a Man, who offer'd to hire us two Horses and a Calash, but upon Condition, that we should leave the Value of them with one of the Townsmen, to prevent their losing any Thing by us, in Case we should be plunder'd by the *Cossacks*. As 'twas not our Business to haggle, and we wanted to be

gone, I made short Work of it, by purchasing the Equipage for the Price demanded, viz. 25 Ducats. While this was doing, a Crowd got round us; before whom my drunken Peasant began to expatiate on his great Merit, saying, that he would not be bubbled, but would know what Reward was to be given him, he having ventur'd his Neck to conduct me. Upon this our chief Guide, fir'd with the Spirit of Generosity, began to squabble with him, saying, that he was a Rascal, that this was not a Time to debate on such Matters, and that he had exerted himself as much as any Body, and yet had not made any Demand. This Quarrel, which rose to a great Height, prov'd to the Crowd that I was a Person of Consequence, insomuch that every one began to distinguish me from my Companions. I reconcil'd Matters as well as I could; and would very willingly have left my drunken Peasant, who now was of no Use to me, had I not been afraid that, intoxicated as he was, he would have quite discover'd me. I therefore was oblig'd to pack him up in the Calash, and support, or rather carry him on my Back, to keep him from breaking his Neck. My chief Guide rode before, to conduct the Calash; and I left the third, whom I believ'd had most Sense, with Orders to go and acquaint the A—r of my having happily cross'd the *Vistula*. At last we set out, about Noon, without daring to ask the Way, to prevent, in Case of a Pursuit, any one from giving the least Intelligence about me. I myself steer'd our Course by the Map, being well acquainted with the Situation of that Country; and as we were to pass the *Nogat*, I always went towards the Point where it separates from the *Vistula*, leaving *Marienburg* to the left, it being garrison'd by the Enemy. I went by upwards of twenty Villages, possess'd by either *Saxons* or *Muscovites*, without any one's taking the least Notice of me.

After travelling very hard during four Hours, our Horses were quite tired; the Weather also was very sultry, so that it was very necessary for us to refresh them; but with what Safety could we stop, as the whole Country was full of Enemies? Providence, however, furnish'd us with an Opportunity, we spying at a hundred Paces from the Road, a lone House, without one Soul in it. We afterwards set out again, and arriv'd at Eight in the Evening at a Publick House on the Shore of the *Vistula*. We found an old Boat which lay upon the Land, when my Peasants fancied that we were got to the *Nogat*, and so were resolv'd to cross it in this crazy Vessel; but I happening, very fortunately, to enquire of a Passenger whether this were the *Nogat*, he answer'd it was not, but that I was not above a League and half from it, and that this was the *Vistula*.



## The Retreat of K. STANISLAUS from *Dantzick*. 571

Had it not been for this Information, we should have cross'd the *Vistula*, and so had been undone; we therefore told the Landlord, that we were Butchers belonging to *Marienburg*, and intended to cross the *Nogat* to buy Cattle: He told us that this would be impossible, all the Boats, to the very smallest, having been taken away and carried to *Marienburg*, upon Account of the *Polish* Troops that were roaming in Parties up and down the Country on the other Side of the *Nogat*. Hearing this, I could not see a Possibility of my escaping, and we were forc'd to spend the Night in the Barn, our Horses being quite spent. Just as Day began to break, my Peasants came to this Resolution, that we must go over the Bridge to *Marienburg*, and that they could not think of any other Method: I observ'd to them, but to no Purpose, that there was a Garrison in this City, and that we should certainly be seiz'd by it: They were deaf to my Arguments, and even threatned to leave me in Case I did not comply: However, I at last prevail'd so far, that we should proceed to the Shore of the *Nogat*, and that in Case we had not an Opportunity of crossing it, we then should go by *Marienburg*; accordingly we went all along the Bank, thro' Woods and most execrable Ways, till we arriv'd at a little Village.

I said to them, that it would be proper for us to stop; but my two Peasants, who were always for domineering, refus'd, declaring that it was to no purpose, and even dangerous for us to make any Enquiry, since we were sure that we could not pass the River any where but at *Marienburg*: Nevertheless I at last was so far Master, that one of my Peasants went into the House to make some Enquiry, but, very luckily for me, the Inhabitants could not speak any Tongue but the *Polish*, as he came and inform'd me, adding, that he could not make them understand him.

Upon this I alighted from the Calash, with design to speak to them; but this my Peasants oppos'd, they being afraid that my Speech would betray me. After disputing some Time, they came from the Calash, and told me plainly that they would leave me, being determin'd to save their Necks: I willingly consented, being no longer able to bear with their Insolence and Stupidity. I then went into the House, and told the Landlady very courteously, that I wanted to cross the *Nogat*, in order to go and buy Cattle; but she told me, that there was not one Boat upon the River, and that she herself had a few Cattle to dispose of: I answer'd, that I would also purchase some of her at my Return, but that I should

think myself obliged to her, if she could find means for me to cross the River: The good Woman replied, I see you are an honest Man, so will let my Son conduct you; a Quarter of a League from hence is a Friend of ours, a Fisherman, who lives on the other Side the Water, and keeps a little Vedelin in his House; upon my Son's making a Signal to him, he will come to this Side and take you into his Boat: I thank'd the good Woman, and stept into the Calash with her Son: My rascally Peasants, who were still there, observing me not to be so much dejected as before, and that I had a Guide, suspected I had now got what I wanted, so came up to me with a Design of getting into the Calash, and this not being a proper Season for Reproaches, I did not say a Word to them: I therefore set out, and after riding a Quarter of a League, came to the Banks of the *Nogat*, where indeed the Landlady's Son, at his first Signal, made his Friend the Fisherman come out of his Hut, and drag his little Vedelin after him into the River: The Moment he was come over to us, I stept into his Vedelin with one of my Peasants, and left the other with our Equipage, it not being possible for us to convey it cross the River, and order'd him to wait there till his Comrade, whom I intended to send back the same Day, was return'd to him.

In this Manner, Praise be to Almighty God, I cross'd the *Nogat*, and, very luckily for me, found in the little Village call'd *Biabagora*, situated on the River's Side, a small Waggon and two Horses, which brought me happily to *Marienwerder*, on Saturday the 3d of July, after having sent away my Peasant with a short Letter to the A——r. Finding myself alone in the publick House, I took a little Rest, after sustaining incredible bodily Fatigues, without being able to give any Ease to my Mind, which was in great Agitation upon account of my Uncertainty what Course to take.

I can justly affirm, that the Satisfaction which my Escape gives me, is not capable of soothing my Affliction, as I no longer enjoy the sincere Friends whom I lost, and that after the most cruel Manner in *Dantzick*. I don't pity them as Prisoners of War, for that is the Fate of Men of Honour; but what Compassion do they not merit, should they be reduc'd to the Condition of Slaves, at the Expence of their Conscience and Liberty?

The next Day after my Arrival at *Marienwerder*, I was so fortunate as to meet again with my faithful Companion General *Steinfeltz*, which is a great Consolation to me.

*Fog's Journal, Nov. 2. N<sup>o</sup> 313.**Character of CYRUS the Great: From M. Roland.*

**W**E may look upon *Cyrus* as the wisest Conqueror as well as the most accomplish'd Prince, that we read of in profane History. He had Wisdom, Moderation, Courage, Grandeur of Soul, Nobleness of Sentiments, a marvelous Dexterity in managing the Minds and gaining the Hearts of Men, a compleat Knowledge of all Parts of the Military Art according to the Practice of those Times, a vast Extent of Knowledge supported by prudent Resolution to execute great Projects.

It happens often that those Heroes who distinguish themselves in Battles, and make a shining Figure in War, shall appear weak, and of no great Consequence at other Times, and with Respect to other Affairs. *Cyrus* always appear'd the same, always great, even in the most inconsiderable Things; safe in his Greatness, which he knew how to support by real Merit, he studied only to be affable, and to render himself easy of Access; and the People paid him in Sentiments of Love and Respect, infinitely more than he gave up by lowering himself down to a Familiarity with them.

Nothing can be more pleasing and instructive than to read in *Xenophon*, in what Manner he lived and convers'd with his Friends, always preserving as much of his Dignity as was necessary to maintain Respect, but far removed from a certain Pride and Haughtiness which deprives the Great of the most innocent Pleasures of Life, by hindering them from enjoying the sweet and amiable Conversation of Persons of Merit, who happen to be of a Condition inferior to them.

The Use he made of his Friends may stand as a perfect Model to all those who are placed in the first Rank of Mankind; with him they not only enjoy'd a Liberty, but receiv'd his express Command to say every Thing they thought; and tho' he was himself superior in Knowledge to them all, yet he did nothing without consulting them; whether his Design was to reform something that was wrong in the Government, to make some Changes and Alterations in the Army, or to form a Plan for some Enterprize, he would have every Man speak his Opinion, and very often he reaped a Benefit from it, very different from one, of whom *Tacitus* says, that it was a sufficient Reason for him to declare against the best Council, that it did not come from himself.

*Cicero* speaking of *Cyrus*, says, that during the whole Time of his Government, he never gave any Man a rash, angry or insolent Word:

*Cujus summo in imperio, nemo unquam verbum ullum asperius audiuit.* This little Sentence is a high Encomium upon this Prince. *Cyrus* must have been perfect Master of himself and of his own Passions, while in a Life of so much Hurry and Action, while in sight of that Giddiness which Sovereign Power is but too apt to inspire, he could possess his Soul in such a calm Situation that no Disappointment, no unforeseen Accident, no Discontent shou'd be able to fower his natural Temper, or draw from him a harsh and offensive Word. But that which was still more truly Great and Royal in him, was the inward Conviction that govern'd him, that all his Cares, all his Attention ought to tend towards the Happiness of his People, that it is not by amassing of Riches, by the Splendor of Retinue, and Equipage, by the Luxury and Expence of a Table, that a King should be distinguish'd from his Subjects, but by a Superiority of Merit in all kinds, and above all by an indefatigable Application in watching their Interests, and in procuring them Quiet and Plenty. He often used to say while he was entertaining himself with the great Men of his Court, concerning the Duties of Royalty, that a Prince should look upon himself as a Shepherd (it is the Term that ancient History both sacred and profane has given to good Kings) that he ought to have Vigilance, Application, and Goodness, that he shou'd watch that the People may rest in Safety, that he shou'd take upon himself Cares and Troubles, that they may be free from them, that he should choose such Things as may be salutary to them, and reject whatever may annoy them, that he should place his Happiness in seeing them encrease and multiply, and expose himself courageously in their Defence: This (says he) is the just Idea, and natural Image of a just King; it is but reasonable that his Subjects shou'd do him the Services of which he stands in need, but it is still more reasonable that he should apply himself to make them happy, because it is for that Purpose he is made a King, as a Shepherd is made so, only to take care of the Flock.

It was by the Concurrence of all these Virtues that *Cyrus* brought it about to found an Empire that comprehended so many Provinces, that for many Years he peaceably enjoy'd the Fruits of his own Conquests, that he found the Way of making himself both esteem'd and beloved not only by his own natural born Subjects, but by all the Nations he had conquer'd, and that after his Decease he was lamented as the common Father of all those People.

This is the Picture (says *Fog*) that all Historians have given us of *Cyrus* the Great, a Picture that will fit very few Princes since him; but indeed very few Princes since him have had the like Advantages of Education; in *Persia*



*Persia* at this Time, the Education of Youth was the great Concern of the State, and the Methods of it were appointed by the Laws (See p. 539.) *Cyrus* went thro' the same Discipline with the other Youth, he was not privileg'd to be more ignorant than any other Person in the Kingdom, because he was to be greater; but the Distinctions of Greatness are very differently understood from what they were in those Days: Some Emperors and Princes long since *Cyrus*, by the Help of able Masters and Instructors, have indeed been taught to play tolerably well upon the Fiddle, an Art (or Trick, I may call it) of which *Cyrus* was altogether ignorant; for the Time that other Princes lay out in acquiring this trifling Accomplishment, *Cyrus* employed in learning Justice, Morality, and the Exercise of Arms.

*Craftsman*, Nov. 2. N<sup>o</sup> 435.

*The Rise and Fall of RUFINUS: Extracted from a late Author.*

**RUFINUS** was a Native of *Gaul*, but so obscure, that none of the Historians have been able to deduce his Pedigree; and we find little mention of him, till he procur'd a considerable Employment under *Theodosius the Great*; by what Ways and Means he was advanced into that Post, we are not told with any Certainty: Perhaps they were too flagrant to be named. However that be, he at last became *Premier Minister*, and *sole Favourite*.

His Person was tall and well made; his Address smooth and affable; his Conversation subtle and insinuating; which fitted him wonderfully for the Intrigues of a Court. But his Elevation quite turn'd his Head; and instead of making a right Use of it, by conducting himself with Gratitude and Acknowledgement to the *Persons*, who rais'd him; with Regard and Decency to his *Superiors*; he grew treacherous to the *one*, and insolent to the *others*. He began to forget his Original; to neglect his old Friends; to talk loudly of his Services and Deserts; and to flatter his Ambition and Avarice with unbounded Prospects.

In order to accomplish his Designs, he found it necessary to remove Men of Worth and Probity from the Court. Men above the Temptation of Money, who served their Country and Prince without mean and sordid Views, were the great Objects of his Rage. *Fatianus* and *Proculus*, Persons of high Rank and considerable Families, were Eye-foes to him. Their just and impartial Behaviour in their Respective Stations was a constant Reflection on his evil Administration. He therefore took Care to misrepresent them to the Emperor, and by false Accusations accomplish-

ed their Ruin, to the great Detriment of the Publick; who, when deprived of them, lost a Patriot in the *One*, and a General in the *Other*.

But his Malice was not confined to single Persons. He was the Adviser of the most arbitrary Measures, and the Promoter of Schemes most detrimental to the Publick; such as were dangerous even to his Master *Theodosius*, by exposing him to a general Odium. He exercised at large an unlimited Power over the *Nobility* and *Populace*, who were now both miserably degenerated. The Dignity of the *Patrician Order* was in a great Measure extinguished. The Rights and Privileges of the *Plebeians* were grossly invaded. The Laws of the *twelve Tables*, the *Magna Charta* of the *Romans*, were no longer held sacred, but openly and scandalously violated. The Constitution, and even the *Roman Name* itself was in Danger of being totally abolished.

The *Senate*, that is the Majority of it, was become little better than a Collection, or Assembly of *Pensioners*, *Preferment Hunters*, *Boy-Politicians* and *Court-Slaves*; who, being vested of their original Senatorian Authority, had lost all Sense of Justice, all Freedom of Voting, all that Force of Eloquence, and that Spirit of Liberty, which animated the *old Romans*, and made them the Terror of arbitrary Power. No Proceedings were too violent, no Decrees too unjust, no Resolutions too absurd, no Actions, no Managements too profligate for them, when they were executing the Commands of their great Lord and Master, *Rufinus*. *Tiberius* had not more Reason to laugh at the base Compliances of the Senate in his Time, when he cried out, *O Homines ad Servitutem paratos! O Beasts of Burthen!* than *Rufinus* had at the slavish Condescension of this.

Nor was the *Ecclesiastical Polity* less corrupt than the *Civil*; for tho' the Church had at this Time a *St. Ambrose*, and some few more Fathers, both in the *East* and *West*, who were Champions for her; yet most of her chief Pastors apply'd their Minds solely to temporal Concerns, and sacrific'd the Duties of their Function to the sordid Views of worldly Interest.

Thus *Rufinus* every where interposed, every where prevail'd. All *Preferments*, *Ecclesiastical*, *Civil*, and *Military*, were at his Disposal; and even the Determinations of private Property began to partake of the general Corruption. No *private Law-suit* between Man and Man could be carried on without exorbitant Expence, and in all *State-Prosecutions* there hardly remain'd the outward Appearance of Justice. He had Informers and Evidences in constant Pay, who were instructed to swear any Thing, and accuse any Body; by which Means he screen'd himself from the just Re-

ment of those, who sought to redress the Injuries of the Publick. In a Word, his whole Administration was one continued Scene of Rapine; and tho' it lasted but a few Years, he had by his Grants from *Arcadius* (who succeeded *Theodosius*, and by whom he was continued in Employment) with his Extortions from the People, heap'd together an immeasurable Mass of Wealth.

But this insatiable Avarice and abominable Oppression could not be borne for ever. His Power began visibly to decline. The People freely arraigned his Mismanagements, exposed his Corruptions, and called aloud for Restitution and Justice. Some uttered bold Speeches in publick Assemblies; others wrote Invectives against him; and even his own *ministerial Slaves* defended him with less Zeal and Alacrity than usual.

All this *Rufinus* observed with a strict and watchful Eye. He was so conscious of his own Guilt, that he apprehended every Thing from a Party, which was now gaining Ground upon him every Day; a Party, which was not only superior to his own in Number, but much more considerable in Esteem; being composed of Men of the first Rank, the largest Properties and the greatest Abilities; who could not, without Horror, reflect on the Consequences of an *exhausted Treasury* and an *endanger'd Constitution*; who preserved the Principles of *Liberty, Honour, and Loyalty*, in the worst of Times; even under his most detestable Ministry.

In Order therefore to stem the Torrent of popular Hatred, he made a secret League with the barbarous Nations, who were then over-running *Europe*, and threw himself as his last Resort into the Arms of *Alaric* the *Goth*.

But this Behaviour only rous'd the Indignation of his Opposers. The Measure of his Iniquity was now full. This last, treacherous Step incens'd the Multitude against him beyond all Bounds. They could not contain themselves any longer; but resolved to deliver and revenge themselves on *such a Monster*; which they did by tearing him into a thousand Pieces.

Thus fell the infamous *Rufinus* a Sacrifice to popular Rage; and tho' his Death was violent, yet was it natural; for however wise Men may condemn such *extrajudicial Punishments*, it is impossible to restrain the Fury of the People, when they find themselves grievously oppressed, and depriv'd of all other Means of Relief.

I shall conclude (says the Letter-Writer) this little Piece of History with observing, that tho' it does not appear exactly parallel, in every Circumstance, to the Character of any one Man now living; yet if your Readers will give themselves the Trouble to look round the World, it is not impossible that they may

some where or other find a *Person in Power*, who bears a near Resemblance to it, in many Particulars.

*Free Briton*, Nov. 7. N<sup>o</sup> 262.

Observations on King WILLIAM's Government.

THE Growth of the *Jacobite* Power, which became so formidable to *K. William's* Government was owing to two principal Causes. It was owing, on the one Hand, to the unreasonable Divisions of the *Whigs*, in his Service, whose Ambition aspiring beyond just Measure, and whose Envy maligning the worthiest Men in his Favour, led them to join the *Tories*, in Opposition to the King and his Ministers, whereby the Cause of the *Tories* was sanctified by the Accession of *Whig Confederates*, and that which could have no other Name than *Jacobitism*, whilst it had none but *Tories* to conduct it, was now disguised by the consecrated Name of *Patriotism*.

On the other Hand, it is a Truth too sadly notorious ever to be denied, that whilst the Rage of *inveterate Jacobites*, and the Envy of *ambitious Whigs*, pursued *K. William's* ablest Counsellors, he had not that Firmness in giving Protection to the Worthy, and stemming the Violence of Faction, as might have been hoped for from a Prince of his Justice, Wisdom, and Magnanimity: So that as he was too easily prevailed on to dismiss the most deserving of his Ministers when they were furiously pushed by the *Tories*, it was not safe or natural for any Ministers to hazard themselves in the Service, when they saw that they could not depend on Support against the Malice of their Enemies.

The Lord Chancellor *Sommers* was not only the greatest of *K. William's* Ministers, but, perhaps, the greatest that ever was a Minister: He had the most comprehensive Genius, the most extensive Knowledge, and the clearest Discernment; to such Abilities he joined the most unaffected Modesty: Difficult as the wisest Men have found it to enjoy Fortune without Insolence; he was that rare Example of a Man that enjoy'd it even without Vanity.

It may at once provoke Amazement and Indignation, that such a Minister should be hunted down by the Cry of Faction; that the Power of the House of Commons should be prostituted to worry the wisest and most faithful Counsellor that ever was employed by the Crown; and Impeachments be devised to blast his Reputation, by a Party who, tho' triumphant in their Outrage, were awed by the Clearness of his Integrity; and who, tho' they had Malice to accuse, had neither Honesty nor Courage to meet him in the Day of his Trial.

This



This Injustice to Lord Sommers, on the Part of the House of Commons, owed its Encouragement to an apparent Want of Firmness in the King: Whilst the noble Lord was thought to be as much assured, as he was deserving of all Protection from the Crown, his Enemies themselves were afraid of attacking a Minister thus supported; and the Question for addressing the King to remove him, was rejected by a Majority of that very House, who no sooner saw the King take the Seals from Lord Sommers, in compliance with the Malice of his Enemies, than they assumed a new Spirit, and, whilst all the Whigs sincerely attached to the Revolution Government, were dismay'd by his unhappy Concession to the Tories, they took the Advantage of the Publick Misfortune, and shew'd K. William how little he had gained by dismissing Lord Sommers to humour them; for, instead of receiving it as an Obligation to the People, they treated it as a Weakness in the King; and, since he had parted with one Minister, they soon made him sensible that he should keep no Ministers at all, impeaching every Man in his Service, condemning every Measure of his Conduct, and refusing the just Supplies for his Security.

Succeeding Princes will be convinced from this Part of our History, that unless they allow a firm and steady Support to their faithful Servants, they will never be faithfully served; there will be no Spirit in their Friends, nor Restraint upon their Enemies; that whenever Princes give up their Ministers to the Violence of Factions, they surrender their own Power and Security, nor will ever be happy or prosperous whilst they want Resolution to withstand those Attempts against their Counsellors, which arise from no other Source than Envy, Malice, and personal Dissatisfaction.

Universal Spectator, Nov. 9. N<sup>o</sup> 318.

*The Art of Modern Conversation.*

THE Topicks of Modern Conversation turn generally on what is universally known, or what is scarce known at all, that is, the Diversions of the Town, or the private Scandal of it; for such Subjects require neither much Knowledge nor much Truth; hence it is that the pretty Fellows of the Town have something to say, and the Ladies an Opportunity to pour out that Flow of Eloquence which is so natural to them: And how happy is it that these Subjects should be the Mode, for otherwise the finest Assemblies in this Nation would be little better than a silent Meeting; the Coquette would lose her pretty smart Liss, or dear affected Drawl, the Prude her cruel Pleasure of murdering Reputations, and the studious Beau must give up the Art of open-

ing and closing his Lips gracefully to a Pack of uncouth, unpolish'd Fellows, who think their Mouths were made only to speak, without that graceful Grin, so necessary for the Discovery of the Teeth and enlivening Conversation.

To lay a Foundation for this Science of modern Conversation, I would prohibit all Reading, except modern Plays and Pamphlets, which may be allow'd, as they will not give too strong a Tincture of Wit or good Sense. To make Amends for the Prohibition of Books, I earnestly recommend the Learned the Dancing Masters of this Metropolis, who, with their judicious Allies the Taylors and Mantuamakers, will perfect their Pupils in the Art of Dress; two very important Points, which are introductory to the Art of Behaviour, and Art of Conversation.

A Diamond Ring is the most necessary Qualification, in my Opinion, for a Polite Orator: But tho' the Thing itself is necessary, yet the Art of using it is much more so. The Displaying a fine Brilliant glittering on the little Finger, when the Hand waves gently along with a soft, smooth Sentence, adds an irresistible Force to whatever you deliver, gives it the Stamp of Sterling Wit, and makes it pass current. In a Controversy it has an equal Power; for if your Antagonist should push you home with Mode and Figure, Major and Minor, there is no more necessary, but to make an Extension of that Hand on which you wear your Diamond, and you'll infallibly dazzle his Understanding, confute his Syllogism, and confound his Logic.

The Ruffle, if properly handled, is no weak Auxiliary to the Art of Speaking, as the peeking it, pulling it down, and adjusting it, may supply a Pause, express Joy, Anger, or several other Passions, according to the Action you use. A late celebrated Player, who always had the good Fortune to please, on any Emergency on the Stage had immediate Recourse to the expressive Ruffle, and never without Success.

There is one Art in Conversation, which tho' it has been censur'd by my ingenious Predecessor, the Spectator, is still successfully made use of; I mean the Art of properly introducing a green Purse and 50 or 100 Guineas into a Dispute, and by a judicious Cblink confounding an Opponent who may not have above as many Shillings. If you'll contend it with Mr. Plumb, he will lay you, or any of your Wits about Covent-Garden, 500 Pieces on it, provided you stake the Money down. And sure this Way of Conversation should be allow'd to your Logicians of the City and Wits of St. James's, they having no other Method to refute an Argument.

In all Conversations where your Men of Honour are concern'd, the Sword has an uncommon Influence: Action has a strange

Force; for one of your militant Disputants about the Tilt-Yard and Charing-cross, only by moving his right Hand in a cross Line down to his left Side, will take off the most subtle Syllogism that can be urg'd against him; but should that not avail, he will, in the Twinkling of an Eye, convince his Opponent of his Error, by running him through the Guts.

But to return to the Instructions of my mere peaceful Pupils: The Rhetoricians allow that there is a dumb Kind of Eloquence. According to this Maxim I've seen Persons confute an Argument without speaking a Word: This Eloquence is much in Use in the Coffee-houses about the Temple and Pall-mall, where, if you shou'd inadvertently offer your Opinion in a Debate, one of these silent Orators, furnish'd with a well comb'd Toupee and immutable Countenance, advances up to you with a jauntie Trip, opposes his Front to yours, stares sedately, nor will he give up this his surprising Argument, till he has star'd you out of your Reason and out of the Coffee-Room.

*London Journal*, Nov. 9. N<sup>o</sup> 802.

*Reflections on the Character of Rufinus in the last Craftsman.* (See p. 573.)

WHO can reflect, without Horror and Detestation, upon a Faction grown up, by long Disappointments, to such a Maturity of Wickedness, that they seem capable of perpetrating any Villainy which they can find Opportunities to put in Practice? We have, however, one Thing to comfort us, that this Patriot Rage seems to flow from a State of Despair; they know that their Cause is gone, and their Game is up; the Majority is every where, but amongst the Mob, absolutely against them. Affairs at Home are in a good Situation, and Affairs Abroad (in spite of all their Wishes and Labours) are likely to be placed in such a Situation, as will be honourable to his Majesty, and beneficial to the People.

This our Patriots know; they feel the Strength of the Government, and their own Weakness, while they vainly boast of their Power. Not one Word of what they say about this is true: They are not a Party gaining Ground; for they lose Ground every Day, and have done so for a Twelve-month past; they are not superior in Number, nor more considerable in Esteem; they are much inferior in Number, and have lost all Esteem among impartial Men of Sense, and hearty Lovers of their Country: They are not Men of the first Rank, the largest Properties, and the greatest Abilities; for, excepting one or two Families, they are generally Men of small Properties, decay'd Estates, and as desperate in their Fortunes as they are in their Minds.

But they say further, that the Minister hath forgot his Original, neglected his old Friends, and removed Men of Resolution, Worth, and Probity from the Court; this also happens not to be true: The Hon. Person whom they mean, hath not forgot his Original; his Original was that of a Gentleman, of an ancient and worthy Family; and he owes his Success in the World as much to his own Abilities as any Minister ever did. He has not forgot his old Friends: But if some of his old Friends imagine that they are not distinguished enough, and so turn new Enemies; 'tis not he forgets them, but they forget him. He never removed Men of Resolution, Worth, and Probity, from the Court: But whatever Men of Resolution, Worth, and Probity were once in Favour at Court, and are now removed, they removed themselves; they formed themselves into a Cabal; they entred into an Association, and vowed to oppose the Court in every Thing, till they had obliged his Majesty to change his Ministry; and after such a Resolution, 'twas the wisest Thing that ever was done, to turn them all out. This is the Truth of the Case. I don't say, that several of the Gentlemen who are dismissed, were not Men of Worth and Probity; but, I say, in this Instance, their Understandings and their Virtue left them; they are not Patriots, nor are they weak enough to think themselves so: But they are angry, peevish, proud, ambitious Men, who cannot be at rest till the Power of the Nation is delegated into their Hands. This is the Truth, and this Truth the Publick ought to know. There are, indeed, some Gentlemen among these Anti-Courtiers whom I esteem and value; not excepting Fatianus and Proculus: But their present Behaviour I detest and abhor, as dishonourable to his Majesty, and detrimental to their Country: The Part which these Whigs act at present, is, in my Opinion, a Part infinitely worse than that of the Jacobites; for these may justly be supposed to have Principles against the Government; but here are a Set of Men principled for it, and yet acting in the most detestable Manner against it.

*Fog's Journal*, Nov. 9. N<sup>o</sup> 314

*An Apology for Mrs. Osborne.*

Mr. FOG,

IF no other Circumstance could invite you, to pay your Respects now and then to your Political Sister, Mrs. Osborne, one would imagine, that the Example of so eminent a Writer as Mr. D'Anvers, might induce you, merely in Point of Civility, to shew her a little Regard. Some Esteem is certainly due to this Majestic old Woman, singly on Account of her Age, notwithstanding the visible Decay of her Parts, and total Loss of her Memory.



Can there be a more melancholy Consideration than to find, that she, who had long *sustained and deserved so great a Character*, should droop under the Weight of her *Infirmities*; and wholly lose the Use of that noble Talent of *Reasoning*, which she has often told the World it was her peculiar Happiness *once to possess*; that the Want of *Memory* should be manifestly discoverable in all her *Lucubrations*; that this Defect of *Judgment and Retention* should betray her into Controversy with her *Superiors*, concerning Points to which she fondly esteems herself *equal*; and that the Difficulties she is pressed with by those who retain the Use of the *Talents* she has lost, should encrease the Number of her *Absurdities*, and lead her *insensibly into Obscurity*? I shall therefore, Mr. Fog, take the Liberty to alleviate her *Distress*, by testifying to the Public, in your Paper, the singular Regard I bear for this *awful old Lady*; whom I have known from her *first Childhood*; and am sorry she has been so *imprudent* as to make herself *known* to the *World* in her *second*.

But as I am fully persuaded, that all the Faults she has committed, proceed chiefly from a late wrong Turn in her Head; I will honestly lay before her, a short Account of her *Conduct*, and of what has been so unkindly objected to it: And as her *Memory* does not assist her, to *ruminate* upon any Subject, which she has not *lately* been engaged in, I will confine myself to that Part she has taken, in the Question concerning the *Independency of Parliament*.

Mr. D'Anvers has so long set his Wit against this most *Reverend Matron*, that he has rendered her *ridiculous* to a Proverb; which Treatment has so *enraged* her, that she is quite driven off her *Bias*, and esteems herself bound to *contradict* every Thing advanced by him.

I shall now shew what ought to have been her *Carriage* in this Debate; and how much she has *misbehaved* in it.

That Part of the Publick, who have seen her Papers, must have observed in most of them this Maxim, *That the Laws of the Land are the standing Measure of the King's Government, and the People's Obedience*. Now the necessary Consequences of this are, 1st, that we live under a *wise and good Government*; and 2dly, that it is therefore *impossible* for a House of Commons to be *practised* upon by any *corrupt Influence*; and as the *Truth* of the Maxim might be admitted, upon the *Veracity* of Mrs. Osborne, we must have abided the Conclusions, because they *inevitably* follow. If this *Method* had been pursued, she might very *safely* have observed in her most *significant Strain* of Writing, *Thus have we demonstrated, both the Craftsman's Ignorance of Argument, and Malice a-*

*gainst the present Government*; and this would have been as *honest* as it is *conclusive Reasoning*. It was her Business therefore, to have observed this Course of disputing; but instead of that she *eludes*, and by this means absolutely *confirms* the Point in Dispute, by endeavouring to turn the Question about *Gifts and Pensions*, into one concerning *Places of Profit*; from whence the most *unreasonable Suspicions* seem to be entertained, that the *Corruption* the *Craftsman* exclaims against, has really *some Foundation*; and her Manner of encountering him throughout the Debate, is so far from *removing*, that it *establishes* these *Suspicions*.

The Danger of *Parliamentary Slavery* compared with *Regal*, it is true, has been fully shewn by the *Craftsman*; and *wiredrawn* by him, into a *distant Reflection* upon some *late Practices*; but the *real Argument* upon which this proceeded, was *visibly too abstruse*, and the *Deductions* from it *too remote*, to have had any *bad Effect* on the Minds of the People; yet this *beadstrong old Woman* could not avoid attacking the *Craftsman* here; and notwithstanding her *Impotency*, opposed her *Feminine* to his most *Masculine Parts*; by which Means an Opinion may be *engender'd*, that the Observations of Mr. D'Anvers, altho' they are the most *foreign* to our *Wife and Happy Administration*, are *very applicable* to the Conduct of those at the Head of it.

The last Instance of her *Misbehaviour* that I shall mention, in which her *Imprudence* is not less conspicuous than her *Partiality*, is the following: She must, *forsooth*, shew her *Learning* in this Debate; and without either *Rhime or Reason*, quote a Passage from Bishop Burnet's History, within *twenty Lines* of the most *untoward Remark*, which is perhaps to be met with throughout the Book. (See p. 541.) Upon this Mr. D'Anvers instantly recurred to the Passage; and not only found it *unfairly* quoted, but in Pursuit of what she had thus pointed out, met with this *very Remark*, which seemed to have escaped his Notice: This, he has since so happily applied, in *Defence* of his own Argument, and to the *Destruction* of hers, as to have quite *dumb-founded* the old Woman; and proved that her *Want of Capacity*, is not a greater Objection to her being continued in the *Service* of her Master, than her *Want of Sincerity*.

I could add to the Number of these *flagrant Oversights*, with as much *Ease*, as this *superannuated old Woman* commits them; but I don't intend to throw her into *Despair*. She is really an *Object* of *Pity*; and I profess I aim as little at *Calumny*, as she merits it: If she doubts this, I can only say it is her *Misfortune* to be still under that *Insatiation* which has already so greatly *misled* her; but to testify how much *Injustice* she does me, to entertain the least *Suspicion* of my *Sincerity*, and

and how little this affects me, I will offer the same Excuse for her Conduct, that our great Poet, in the Rape of the Lock, does for Belinda's; a little varied.

*If to her Share some Female Errors fall,  
Think of her Years, and you'll forget them all.*

Craftsman, Nov. 9. N<sup>o</sup> 436.

*The Dissertation on Parties continued.*  
(See p. 32.)

THE Constitution of the British Government supposes our Kings may abuse their Power, and our Representatives betray their Trust; and provides against both these Contingencies, as well as human Wisdom can provide. The same Constitution is far from supposing the People will ever betray themselves; and yet this Case is possible. We do not read, I think, of more than \* one Nation, who refused Liberty, when offer'd to them; but we read of many, and have almost seen some, who lost it thro' their own Fault, by the plain and necessary Consequences of their own Conduct. A wise and brave People will neither be cozen'd, nor bully'd out of their Liberty; but a wise and brave People may cease to be such; they may degenerate; they may sink into Sloth and Luxury; they may resign themselves to a treacherous Conduct; or abet the Enemies of the Constitution, under a Notion of supporting the Friends of the Government; they may want the Sense to discern their Danger in Time; or the Courage to resist, when it stares them in the Face. The Tarquins were expell'd, and Rome resum'd her Liberty. Cæsar was murdered, and all his Race extinct; but Rome remain'd in Bondage. From whence this Difference? Machiavel shall account for it. In the Days of Tarquin, the People of Rome were not yet corrupted. In the Days of Cæsar, they were most corrupt. A free People may be sometimes betray'd; but no People will betray themselves, and sacrifice their Liberty, unless they fall into a State of universal Corruption; and then they will be sure to lose what they deserve no longer to enjoy. To what Purpose therefore should our Constitution have supposed a Case, in which no Remedy can avail; a Case, which can never happen till the Spirit, which form'd this Constitution first, and hath preserved it ever since, shall be totally extinguished. Our Constitution, indeed, makes it impossible to destroy Liberty by any sudden Blast of popular Fury, or by the Treachery of a Few; for tho' the Many cannot easily hurt, they may easily save themselves. But if the Many will concur with the Few; if they will deliberately suffer their

Liberty to be taken away by those, on whom they delegate Power to preserve it; this no Constitution can prevent. God would not support even his own Theocracy against the concurrent Desire of the Children of Israel, but gave them a King in his Anger. How then should our human Constitution support itself against so universal a Change, as we here suppose, in the Temper and Character of our People? It cannot be. We may give ourselves a Tyrant in our Folly, if we please. But this can never happen till the whole Nation falls into a State of political Reprobation. Then, and not till then, political Damnation will be our Lot.

If the People of this Island should suffer their Liberties to be at any Time ravish'd, or stolen from them, they would incur greater Blame, and deserve less Pity, than any enslaved People ever did. By how much true Liberty (that is, Liberty stated and ascertain'd by Law, in equal Opposition to popular Licence and arbitrary Will) hath been more boldly asserted, more wisely or successfully improved, and more firmly established in this, than in other Countries; by so much the more heavy would our just Condemnation prove in the Case here supposed. The Virtue of our Ancestors, to whom all these Advantages are owing, would aggravate the Guilt and Infamy of their degenerate Posterity; and if Servility and Servitude are to overrun the whole World, like Injustice, and Liberty is to retire from it, like *Astræa*; our Portion of the abandon'd Globe will have, at least, the mournful Honour, whenever it happens, of shewing her last, her parting Steps.

The antient Britons are to us the Aborigines of our Island. We discover little of them thro' the Gloom of Antiquity, and we see nothing beyond them. This however we know; they were Freemen. Cæsar, who visited them in an hostile Manner, but did not conquer them, perhaps was beaten by † them; Cæsar, I say, bestows very liberally the Title of Kings upon their Chieftains; and the Compilers of fabulous Traditions deduce a Series of their Monarchs from *Samothres*, a Contemporary of *Nimrod*. But Cæsar affected to swell the Account of his Expedition with pompous Names; and these Writers, like those whom *Strabo* mentions, endeavour'd to recommend themselves, by publishing Romances to an ignorant Generation, instead of Histories. These supposed Monarchs were the Heads of little Clans; *Reguli, vel melioris Notæ Nobiles*; and if our Island knew any Authority of the kingly Sort in those Days, it was that of occasional and temporary Monarchs, elected in great Emergencies, ‡ *communi Consilio, Suffragiis Multitudinis*, like *Cassivelaunus* in Britain; or

\* The Cappadocians, *vid.* *Strabo Lib. 12.* — *Libertatem repudiaverunt, ut quam sibi dicerent intolerabilem.* † *Territa qua sitis ostendit Terga Britannis.* ‡ *Cæs. de Bell. Gal. lib. 5. c. 7.*



*Vercingetorix* in Gaul. The Kings, who ruled in Britain, after the Romans abandon'd the Island, in the Beginning of the 5th Century, held their Authority from the People and govern'd under the Controul of national Assemblies, as we have great Reason to believe, and none to doubt. In short, as far as we can look back, a lawless Power, a Government by Will, never prevail'd in Britain.

The Saxons had Kings, as well as the Britons. The Manner, in which they established themselves, and the long Wars they waged for and against the Britons, led to and maintain'd monarchical Rule amongst them. But these Kings were in their first Institution, no Doubt, such as Tacitus describes the German Kings and Princes to have been; Chiefs, who persuaded, rather than commanded; and who were heard in the publick Assemblies of the Nation, according as their Age, their Nobility, their military Fame, or their Eloquence gave them Authority. But the Saxon Kings grew into Power in Time; and among them, as among other Nations, Birth, instead of Merit, became, for the Sake of Order and Tranquillity, a Title to the Throne. However, tho' these Princes might command, and were no longer under the Necessity of Governing by Persuasion, they were still under that of Governing to the Satisfaction of the People. By what other Expedient could they govern Men, who were wise enough to preserve, and exercise the Right of Electing their civil Magistrates, and military Officers, and the System of whose Government was upheld and carried on by a Gradation of popular Assemblies, from the inferior Courts to the high Court of Parliament; for such, or very near such, was the *Witten-Gemote* in Nature and Effect, whenever the Word *Parliament* came into Use?

The first Prince of the Norman Race was an absolute Conqueror, in the Opinion of some Men; and I can readily agree that he assumed, in some Cases, the Power of a Tyrant. But this, and this alone will result from it; unlimited, or absolute Monarchy could never be established in Britain; no, not even by Conquest. The Rights of the People were soon reasserted; the Laws of the Confessor were restored; and the third Prince of this Race, Henry I. covenanted in a solemn Speech to his People for their Assistance against his Brother Robert and the Normans, by promising that sacred Charter, which was in other Reigns so often and so solemnly confirmed; by engaging to maintain his Subjects in their ancient Liberties, to follow their Advice, and to rule them in Peace with Prudence and Mildness.

I need not descend into more Particulars to shew the Perpetuity of free Government in Britain. One continued Design against Liberty hath been carried on by various Me-

thods, almost in every Reign, since the Norman Era. In many, the Struggles have been violent and bloody. But Liberty still hath triumph'd over Force, over Treachery, over Corruption, and even under Oppression; so that I will affirm, without the least Apprehension of being disproved, that our Constitution is brought nearer than any other ever was to the most perfect Idea of a free System of Government. One Observation only I will make, before I leave this Head, and it is this: The Titles of those Kings, which were precarious, from Circumstances of Times, and Notions that prevailed, notwithstanding the general Acquiescence of the Nation to them, afforded so many Opportunities to our Ancestors of better securing, or improving Liberty. They were not such Bubbles as to alter, without mending the Government; much less to make Revolutions, and suffer by them. They were not such Bubbles as to raise Princes to the Throne, who had no Pretence to sit in it but their Choice, purely to have the Honour of bettering the Condition of those Princes, without bettering their own in Proportion.

There is another Reason to be given why the People of this Island would be more inexcusable than any other, if they lost their Liberty; and the opening and enforcing of this Reason will bring us fully into our Subject.

I supposed just now that our Liberty might be ravished, or stolen from us; but I think that Expression must be retracted; since it will appear, upon due Consideration, that our Liberty cannot be taken away by the Force, or Fraud alone of those, who govern; it cannot be taken away, unless the People are themselves Accomplices; and they, who are Accomplices, cannot be said to suffer by one, or the other. Some Nations have received the Yoke of Servitude with little or no Struggle; but if ever it is imposed upon us, we must not only hold out our Necks to receive it; we must help to put it on. Now, to be passive in such a Case is shameful; but to be active is supreme and unexampled Infamy. In order to become Slaves, we of this Nation must be beforehand, what other People have been render'd by a long Course of Servitude; we must become the most corrupt, the most profligate, the most senseless, the most servile Nation of Wretches, that ever disgraced Humanity; for a Force sufficient to ravish Liberty from us, such as a great standing Army in Time of Peace, cannot be continued, unless we continue it; nor can the Means, necessary to steal Liberty from us, be long enough employ'd with Effect, unless we give a Sanction to their Iniquity, and call Good Evil and Evil Good.

It may be said that even the Friends of Liberty have sometimes different Notions about it,

it, and about the Means of maintaining, or promoting it; and therefore that even the *British* Nation may possibly, some Time or other, approve and concur in Measures destructive of their *Liberty*, without any Intention to give it up, and much more without changing from the Character, which they have hitherto born among the Societies of Mankind, to that infamous Character I have just now supposed. If this were true, it would only furnish more Reasons to be always on our Guard, to be jealous of every extraordinary Demand, and to reject constantly every Proposition, tho' never so specious, that had a Tendency to weaken the Barriers of Liberty, or to raise a Strength superior to theirs. But I confess I do not think we can be led blindfold so far as the Brink of the Precipice. They, who talk of Liberty in *Britain* on any other Principles than those of the *British* Constitution, talk impertinently at best, and much Charity is requisite to believe no worse of them. But they, who distinguish between *practicable* and *impracticable* Liberty, in order to insinuate what they mean, (or they mean nothing) that the Liberty established by the true Scheme of our Constitution is of the *impracticable* Kind; and they, who endeavour, both in Speculation and Practice, to elude and pervert the Forms, and to ridicule and explode the Spirit of this Constitution; these Men are Enemies, open and avowed Enemies to it, and by Consequence to *British* Liberty, which cannot be supported on any other Bottom.

But here again it may be said that as *Liberty* is a Word of uncertain Signification, so is *Constitution*; that Men have taught the most opposite Doctrines, and pretended at least to build them on the Principles of the Constitution. But the Answer is ready. It is true that there were formerly Men, who persisted long in the Attempt to talk and write that Chimæra, called *Prerogative*, into Vogue; to contend that it was something *real*; a Right inherent in the *Crown*; founded in the Constitution of our Government; and equally necessary to support the just Authority of the *Prince*, and to protect the *Subject*. How we had like to have lost our *Liberty* by the Prevalence of such Doctrines, by the Consequences drawn from them, and the Practices built upon them, hath been touch'd in the Deduction of the State of *Parties*. (Vol. II. p. 556, 571.) But happily this Kind of Progression from a free to a slavish Constitution of Government was stopped at the Revolution, and the Notions themselves are so exploded in the Course of six and forty Years, that they are entertained at this Hour by no Set of Men, whose Numbers, or Importance, give them any Pretence to be reckoned among our *national* *Parties*. It is as true, that there are now Men, who pursue the very same Design by different Methods. The former attack'd,

these undermine our Liberty. Corruption and Dependency are their favourite Topicks. They plead for the first as a laudable Expedient of Government; and for the last, I mean corrupt, private Dependency, as an essential Part of our Constitution. When they have perplex'd our Ideas of Dependency and Independence, they reason as if the Independence of each Part of the Legislature, of the King particularly, arose from the Dependency of the other Parts on that Part. Now, this is both false and absurd. It is false, because the constitutional Independence of each Part of the Legislature arises from hence, that distinct Rights, Powers and Privileges are assign'd to it by the Constitution. But then this Independence of one Part can be so little said to arise from the Dependency of another, that it consists properly and truly in the free, unbiass'd, uninfluenc'd, and independent Exercise of these Rights, Powers and Privileges, by each Part, in as ample an Extent as the Constitution allows; or, in other Words, as far as that Point, where the Constitution stops this free Exercise, and submits the Proceedings of one Part, not to the private Influence, but to the publick Controul of the other Parts. Before this Point the Independence of each Part is meant by the Constitution to be absolute. From this Point the constitutional Dependency of each Part on the others commences. To talk of natural Independence belonging to the Kingly Office, to an House of Peers, or an House of Commons, (the Institutions of Art, not of Nature) is impertinent. — It is absurd, because it absolutely destroys the very Thing it is advanc'd to establish; for if A's Independence arises from the Dependency of B, and B's Independence from the Dependency of A, then are A. and B. both dependent, and there is no such Thing as constitutional Independence at all. The Crown is the Source of Honours, and hath the Disposal of publick Employments. This no Man disputes; nor would any Man, I believe, go about to alter. But will it follow that the constitutional Independence of the King would be lost, because the House of Commons give the Supplies, if he had not the Power of giving Part of this Money, in Places and Pensions, back again to the Members of that House?

Notwithstanding all these Endeavours to puzzle our Constitution, formerly in Favour of that *Prerogative*, by the Weight of which it must have been crush'd, and actually at this Time in Favour of that Corruption and corrupt Dependency, by which it would be soon demolish'd; the main Principles of the *British* Constitution are simple, and obvious, and fix'd, as well as any Truths can be fix'd, in the Minds of Men, by the most determinate Ideas. We cannot lose our Liberty, unless we lose our Constitution, nor lose our Constitution, unless we are Accomplices to the Violations of



it; for *this Constitution* is better fitted than any, antient or modern, ever was, not only to preserve *Liberty*, but to provide for its own Duration, and to become immortal, if any Thing human could be so.

Free Briton, Nov. 14. N<sup>o</sup> 262.

Remarks on the above Craftsman.

WHOEVER undertakes to write in Defence of Liberty, may, with ordinary Abilities, vindicate the Subject beyond the Possibility of Contradiction, and may indulge his Talent of declaiming on the general Rights of Nations, the Necessity of preserving, and the Infamy of losing them, without the least Apprehension of being interrupted or answered: But when this Course of Declamation is undertaken with the wicked and pernicious Design of spreading unjust Alarms, of insinuating the Notion of Danger into the Minds of the People, in the Times of their greatest Safety, it is done to make them shake the Foundations of their own Security, and rise in Arms against the Guardians of their Tranquillity. This indeed requires Animadversion, and that of the severest Kind: It is a Prostitution of the best Cause to promote the worst in the World.

The Author of the *Dissertation on Parties* hath set out on this Subject, with various Positions, which none in their Senses will ever deny; and he may as long as he lives maintain, That Liberty was always the Privilege of Britons; that it is our Glory to possess it, and would be our lasting Shame to suffer it to depart from us; that whenever it leaves us, this Island will be its last Stage; and whenever we are bereft of it the Work must be done by our own Hands: I entirely subscribe to this, and to a great deal more in the same Strain: I do not object that this is not Truth, but affirm it is not the whole Truth: I maintain, that this Liberty, which hath been the Boast of all Times, is the matchless Blessing of the present Reign; that it was never so fully enjoy'd, nor so well secured; that the Life of this Liberty is subsisted by the Administration of the present Government; and that the Prince on the Throne is, by his Power and Influence, the vital Spirit of the Constitution.

Upon that particular Passage in the Craftsman, which you have in p. 579. B. he says, This Charge is not only false in Fact, but fraught with the most venomous Malice, as well against the happy Establishment of our Religion and Liberty, as against the King himself, and all the Princes of his Family. It tends to cast more odious Colours on the Revolution, than all its Enemies ever imputed to it.

This Slander entirely turns upon two Fals-

hoods of as glaring Notoriety as Malignity. The one, that the Government was altered by the Revolution, but not mended. The other, that the Princes of the Protestant Succession had no Pretence to sit in the Throne, but the Choice of the People since the Revolution.

Now it is to the Glory of these Princes, that they were called to the Government by the willing Voice of three Nations, declared by numerous Legislative Acts. Yet call this a Matter of Choice, or any Thing else, it is, at the same Time, most undeniably true, that the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover, did not altogether arise from Choice, but from natural and necessary Consequences of unalterable Principles; and that the Title of the House of Hanover to the Succession of this Crown, was not given, or created, by any of the Acts of Settlement, but was originally established by the Bill of Rights at the Revolution, which declared and enacted, that no Papist ought to be King or Queen of this Realm; so that by the Fundamental Principles of the Constitution, the Crown must of Right stand entailed upon that Family; from whence, as the House of Hanover were the only Princes of the Blood Royal of Great Britain, who were capable of the Succession, it could not, by the Laws of the Kingdom, have descended in any other Manner, but must or ought to have passed into that Family, tho' the subsequent Acts of Settlement had never been established; for those were only Recognitions and Securities of a Right which was already sufficiently known, and which could not have been departed from without Violence done to all the Laws, or else, by some new Kind of Law, which must, by a monstrous Stretch of Legislative Power, have declared the Right of Blood in the Princess Sophia, and her Children, to be forfeited without any Offence: So that it is base and false, beyond Example, to suggest that the Princes of the Protestant Succession had no Pretence to sit in the Throne but Choice, when they had the most natural and legal Right, coincident with that Choice, and could not have been excluded without Violence or Injustice.

This insolent Assertion, that the Prince on the Throne hath no Pretence to sit on it but Choice, is a very decent Argument from one who hath no Pretence to live but Mercy, and who hath render'd himself already so very conspicuous, by avowing in open Rebellion, that the Prince on the Throne had no Pretence to sit in it at all, as makes it suspicious, by this Manner of writing Commentaries on the King's Title, that he hath not quite forgot his former Employment of drawing Declarations for the Pretender. And this Manner of phrasing his Majesty's Title as a Pretence, is the Language of one who traiterously treated his Royal Father as a Pretender.

What else in the World can be the Construction of Insinuations that the Government, as it stood under *James II.* hath been altered, without being mended; that we have been Bubbles, to make a Revolution, and suffer by it; as if our Religion and Liberties were no Advantages; as if to recover even the Being of Parliaments, had altered our Government, without having mended it; and further, that we have bettered the Condition of those who are our Princes, without bettering our own in Proportion; as if the very Exclusion of the Pretender, and of the Popish Religion, did not make a greater Difference in our Condition, enjoying both Civil and Religious Liberty, instead of suffering all the Rage of Tyranny and Persecution; as if, I say, this was not more considerable than the Difference between an Electorate of the Empire, and the Kingdom of Britain.

*The Prompter, Nov. 12. N° 1.*

*This is a new Design; and this first Paper gives an Account of the Title, which is taken from the PROMPTER at the Play-House; whose Office is thus describ'd.*

HE stands in a Corner, unseen and unobserved by the Audience, but diligently attended to by every one who plays a Part; yet, tho' he finds them all very observant of him, he presumes nothing upon his own Capacity; he has a Book before him, from which he delivers his Advice and Instructions. From this Part of his Conduct, a very good Moral is to be drawn, which, I hope, I shall never be so forgetful of, as to be accused of talking without Book.

He takes particular Care, not only to supply those, that are out in their Parts, with Hints and Directions, proper to set them right; but also, by way of Caution, drops Words to those, who are perfect, with an Intention to keep them from going wrong. I have often observed the most expert and courageous General tremble thro' Fear of missing his Instructions, and the wisest of Monarchs lend him an attentive Ear. I have seen the merriest of Mortals not dare to crack a Joke, till he gave them the Cue, and the most despairing of Lovers refrain from Sighs and Tears, till they had his Permission to be miserable. I have seen a discontented Statesman hush Sedition, at his Nod; and a very habile Prime Minister, not able to pay Pensions without his Advice and Concurrence. In short, I have seen so much, that I shall not hesitate to pronounce him a Director of the Ignorant, a Comforter of the Afflicted, a Terror to the evil Actor, and a Counsellor to the Counsellors of Kings.

He has Scouts and Messengers to attend him; by dispatching one of these, he can, at

a Minute's Warning, bring the greatest Characters of Antiquity, or the pleasantest of the present Times, upon the Stage, for the Improvement or Diversion of the Audience.

Among his *Instrumenta Regni*, his Implements of Government, I have taken particular Notice of a little Bell, which hangs over his Arm: By the Tinkling of this Bell, if a Lady in Tragedy be in the Spleen for the Absence of her Lover, or a Hero in the Dumps for the Loss of a Battle, he can conjure up soft Musick to sooth their Distress; nay, if a Wedding happens in a Comedy, he can summon up the Fiddlers to dispel Care by a Country Dance. I must inform my Readers, that I have procured an emblematical Bell for these Purposes, and that whenever any of these Misfortunes shall befall them, I can call up a musical Spirit of Cheerfulness, and make them as merry, as is consistent with the old Proverb.

Another Tool of his Authority, is a Whistle, which hangs about his Neck: This is an Instrument of great Use and Significance: I won't say but the Sound of a Boatswain's Whistle may be sometimes more terrible; but I am sure, it cannot be more punctually obeyed. Dr. Faustus's celebrated Wand has not a more arbitrary and extensive Power, than this musical Machine: At the least Blast of it, I have seen Houses move, as it were, upon Wings, Cities turned into Forests, and dreary Desarts converted into superb Palaces: I have seen an Audience removed, in a Moment, from Britain to Japan, and the frozen Mountains of Zembla resembling the sunny Vales of Arabia Felix: I have seen Heaven and Earth pass away, and Chaos ensue, and from thence a new Creation arise, fair and blooming, as the Poet's Fancy; and all by the powerful magic Influence of this Wonder-working Whistle. No body will be surprized, after this, to hear, that I have made use of all my Interest, to procure from the ingenious Mr. Chetwood, an attested Copy of this marvellous Instrument, by virtue of which, and some Directions from that eminent Adept, I shall be able to present my Readers with a never-failing Variety of Objects.

Thus qualified, and fired by such Examples, I enter boldly upon my Province. The Comparison between the World and the Stage will hold in all Points: I could go thro' with it, if it were not too old to be repeated, as well as too certain to be doubted: Therefore, when we daily see so many Men act amiss, can we entertain any Doubt, that a good Prompter is wanting? I will do my best to make up for that Defect, by closely imitating that worthy Officer at the Play-house. I shall give the Word impartially to every Performer, from the Peasant to the Prince, from the Milk-maid to her Majesty; every



every Part, whether Male or Female, serious or humorous, high or low, shall be carefully and equally prompted.

Universal Spectator, Nov. 16. N<sup>o</sup>. 319.

Of Laziness.

S I R,

WE are mistaken, says the Duke of Rochefoucault, if we think that none but the more violent Passions triumph over the rest. Love and Passion have a great Power over our Soul; but Laziness also, as weak and languishing as it is, seldom fails of sometimes making a Conquest: It will get the better of our Designs, and control all the Actions of our Life.

This Author made this Reflection on the Habit of Laziness among a People reckon'd the most active in the World. If it was suited to the Natives of France, it may with more Propriety be adapted to the Genius of Great Britain, where Indolence seems to be the reigning Passion: The Spleen and Vapours, those distinguishing Characteristicks of the English, with all Deference to the Learned of Warwick-lane, take their first Rise from that dangerous Malady of having nothing to do; for I cannot call that doing any thing which may as well be let alone. The fine Lady and the Beau are in a perpetual Hurry all the Morning to finish that important Business of Dress; they get to the Mall by twelve, walk till two, dine by five, are at the Play or Opera before seven, at Quadrille before eleven, and in Bed perhaps by four, and not out of it till eleven again; thus the whole Action of the 24 Hours, as Dressing, Eating, taking Snuff, drinking Tea, playing at Cards, and Sleeping, is but one entire Progress of Laziness; for in these very Articles I affirm they are doing nothing.

But of all Instances of Indolence, Lady Fanny Careless, who cannot take the Trouble of giving even the necessary Orders for her Dress, is the most surprizing; she leaves every Thing to her Woman, and puts on just what she may think proper to give her; she cannot undergo the Fatigue to say, my Night Gown, or, my dress'd Clothes, when she must afterwards bear that insupportable Toil of having them pinn'd on.

Nor is this Laziness the Vice of the Court-End of the Town only; Mrs. Primly, the Deputy of the Ward's Wife, lives in her Dining-Room with a Clock at her Elbow, yet every Time it strikes, she rings the Bell for her Maid to come and tell her how often it struck; for it would be too much Drudgery, and too violently exhaust her Spirits, either to tell the Hours, or turn herself about to look up at the Dial-plate; she cannot possibly de-

mean herself to that vulgar Taste of using her Faculties, but is so very fashionable, and so very lazy, that she is above attending to any Thing whatsoever: She journeys indeed, about half a Dozen Times a Day, from her Chair to her Boufet, where her Citron Bottle stands, and by recruiting her Spirits there, makes shift to halt a few Minutes before her Looking-Glass, then with an affected Hobble recovers her Elbow-Chair, and sinks into it, just expiring with the Fatigue.

Tho' Mrs. Primly abhors the Exercise of her Limbs, and spends her Life in sedentary Satisfaction, she is not a Jot more idle than Mrs. Heyden a Justice of the Peace's Lady in Yorkshire, who never can sit still a Moment: She has a thorough Aversion to the affected Nicety of the Londoners; she rises at the Dawn of Day to ride a Fox Chase of forty Miles, and afterwards with her Spouse, her Brother, and some neighbouring Gentlemen, she adjusts the Course, recites the surprizing Incidents of the Chase, and runs all the Ground over again; she never fails any Horse-Match, far or near; she'll ride 20 Miles to pay a Visit: In short, she is one of the greatest Riders in the County, and one of the idlest Females in it.

I am

Your idle Correspondent,  
J. LAWRENCE.

D London Journal, Nov. 16. N<sup>o</sup> 803.

Observations on the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

WE had no real or complete Liberty till the Revolution: But as People will see Things more clearly by Facts, than by all the Reasoning in the World, we will lay before them a short Account of the best Reign before the Revolution, which they may compare with any Reign since, and with the present Reign, that so they may make a true Judgment of the different State of Things.

The Reign I refer to, is that of Q. Elizabeth, and I will give it in or near the Words of the Author of a late Pamphlet, call'd, Ancient and Modern Liberty stated and compared.

This Princess, (says he) tho' her Government tended in general to the Publick Welfare, yet governed as absolutely without the Consent of the People, as her Arbitrary Predecessors or Successors.

She often sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and told him, not only what she would and would not suffer to be done; but also, what she would or would not allow to be said: Told him, she wanted Money, and would have it; and that Yes and Nay should

should only be utter'd, when it was propos'd to be given; that *the Commons* understood not State Affairs; that State Affairs were not their Business; and that it behov'd them only to meddle with what was properly within their own Province. She, by her Lord Chancellor, told *the Speaker*; and, by *the Speaker*, told *the Commons*, that they had no Right to judge of Returns in Elections; but that *her Lord Chancellor* should be the sole Judge, and determine in those Cases.

She imprisoned Members of Parliament merely by *her own Authority*; forbid some Bills to be read in the House, others to be debated there; and refused the Royal Assent twice, to above 30 Bills each Time, that had pass'd both Houses.

Never were *the Reins of Prerogative* held with a stricter Hand, or *the Yoke of Slavery* faster bound upon the People's Necks, than at this Period of Time; and tho' the People were driven, where they ought to have chosen to go, yet they were still driven; and the same Power that forced them into Foreign Glory and Domestic Prosperity, might, in the Hands of a less skilful or worse disposed Driver, have forced them into the Paths of Contempt Abroad and Destruction at Home. The same Method of Government was pursued in the subsequent Reign, and the Effects of that Method on different Maxims and Policy verify this Assertion.

All, therefore, that can be said with regard to *the Liberty* enjoy'd in the Reign of *Q. Elizabeth* is, that she who allowed her Subjects none, knew their Interest so well, and pursued it so steadily that, under her, they possess'd a great many good Things, but were deprived of one of the greatest of all, which is, making the Good they possess the Effects of their own Election.

To draw then a just Parallel between that Reign and the present, I think we may, without the least Flattery affirm, that we now reap all the publick Benefits that accrued to the Nation from her Counsels, without the latent Evil of being forced upon us, and consequently rather inflicted than bestowed.

*Fog's Journal*, Nov. 16. N<sup>o</sup> 315.

*Observations on the Romans and Carthaginians, and on the French Nation.*

AS the great Powers of Europe are at present engaged in War, it will not be amiss to enquire what the World may expect may be the Consequence of it.

As Money is called the Sinews of War, many will pronounce (without enquiring into any other Circumstances) that the State which is able to raise the greatest Sums, will weary out their Enemy, and of Consequence must prevail at last.

Upon this we must observe, that tho' we allow Money to be the Sinews of War, yet it is certain, it is no longer so than while it passes thro' clean and uncorrupt Hands.

Whoever compares the Strength of the Romans with that of the Carthaginians at the Time of the first Punic War, will wonder that the former should be able to make such a Struggle against the latter. The Carthaginians at this Time possess'd great Revenues, had the most extensive Commerce, and were Masters of a powerful Navy. The Roman Revenues were small, they had little or no Trade, and no Fleet at all, and yet they did not only defend themselves and their Allies, but humbled the Carthaginians to accept of Peace upon their own Terms.

At the Beginning of the second Punic War the Carthaginians had recovered all their past Losses: They had at the Head of their Armies the greatest Genius for War that has appeared either before or since his Time, I mean the victorious Hannibal; he overthrew the Romans at Trebia, at Trasimene, and at Cannæ, besides many other Actions of less Consequence, but those three Defeats were sufficient to have ruined any other Commonwealth in the World; and tho' it may be said that Hannibal was too hard for so many Roman Generals, yet Rome was too hard for Carthage in the End, and ruin'd it by Methods which will always prevail, tho' sometimes they are little regarded by those who have the Government of Nations in their Hands.

In order to make myself better understood I must take Notice how different and opposite these contending People were in their Manners and Inclinations. In Rome virtuous Poverty was honour'd, publick Spirit was the Principle that govern'd every private Man's Actions, great Offices in the State were sought not for Profit but for Honour, and when they were conferr'd, those upon whom they fell, received them as Opportunities of distinguishing themselves in the Service of the Commonwealth, not as Occasions to enrich themselves and raise their Families at the Expence of the People. In Carthage every Thing was venal, great Wealth supply'd the Place of Merit (however acquired;) Men eagerly sought for Offices, not with a Design of being useful to the Commonwealth, but as a Means of growing rich by cheating the Publick; and when some Fellow rose to be the Head of a prevailing Faction, to be servile and obedient to his Orders was all the Qualification that was required either for a Civil or a Military Employment; so that it was not Fabius that checked Hannibal, or Scipio that conquer'd him, so much as the Roman Virtue that overcame the Carthaginian Corruption.



I cannot help being of Opinion that in all corrupt Governments, the Case will be much the same; when Men work themselves into the Service of the Publick by Faction, and are to be supported in it by Bribery, some one Man who is the Leader will have the Disposal of every Thing, and then it is not likely but that the Soldiery will grow base, as well as the Civil Mercenaries, at least those who have the chief Command amongst them will be so.

All Europe has been sometimes alarmed at the great Power of France, and those who have examined its Trade and Revenues, have been surprized that it should be able to maintain such vast Forces; but in France they are not eaten up alive by Swarms of Locusts in Civil Employments; their Salaries are very small, nor is the Pick-Pocket Term *Perquisite* so much as known amongst them.

All the Nobility of France, except Children and Persons superannuated, serve in the Troops. You see a Man of the first Quality at the Head of almost every Regiment. It is a Notion among the Nobility there, that high Titles and a good Estate oblige a Man to lay himself out in the Service of his Country; and if a great Man does now and then a little impair his Fortune, he thinks it more honourable to do it by serving in the War, than by keeping Company with Whores, common Sharpers, or Italian Fiddlers.

Upon the Whole, if the French Nobility enjoy some Privileges beyond the common People, the common People have no Reason to envy them, since their Nobility fight their Battles, and half maintain their Armies, and of Consequence ease them in their Taxes.

But there is another Thing which goes a great Way in Affairs of this Nature, and that is Reputation; a Country which has the Fame of being wisely govern'd will be both feared and courted. The Romans, after they had suffered two great Defeats from Hannibal, received Ambassadors from the People of Naples, who brought with them a great Treasure in Gold, which the Neapolitans offered to lend them, upon a Presumption that they must have been under some Difficulties to raise Money, and also to make an Alliance with them; they accepted of their Alliance, but refused their Gold; they took only one Goblet in order to preserve as a Memorandum of their Friendship; the Neapolitans judg'd wisely that so virtuous and brave a People would prevail at last, and that this good Turn of theirs would not be forgot in Times to come.

Craftsman, Nov. 16. N<sup>o</sup> 437.

The Dissertation on Parties continued, from p. 581. In which the Nature of the Brit-

ish Constitution is farther explained; with some Remarks on the Defects in the Constitution of the Roman Commonwealth.

WE have been all of us, those of every Side and Denomination, accusom'd too long to value ourselves foolishly, or knavishly, on our Zeal for *this*, or *that Party*, or *this*, or *that Government*; and to make a Merit of straining the Constitution different Ways, to serve the different Purposes of each. It is high Time we should all learn, if that be still possible, to value ourselves in the first Place on our Zeal for the Constitution; to make all Governments, and much more all Parties, bow to *that*, and to suffer *that* to bow to none. But how shall this Constitution be known, unless we make it the Subject of careful Enquiry, and of frequent and sober Reflection? Or unknown, how shall it become, what it ought to be, the Object of our Admiration, our Love, and our Zeal?

All publick Regiment, says Mr. Hooker, hath arisen from deliberate Advice, Consultation and Composition between Men. The Proposition is universally true: It is as true in Morocco, as it is in Britain: We are not to wonder however, if Men do not look up to *this Original of Government*, nor trace the Consequences from it, in most Countries. In the Institution of Governments, too great Powers have been usually given, and too great Confidence reposed, either at first, or in Process of Time. These Powers have subsisted, have been confirmed by more Time, and increased by the very Nature of Power. But the original Composition, for want of being express'd, or sufficiently imply'd, or frequently recurred to by the Forms of the Government, hath been forgot, or hath grown so obsolete, that they, whose Interest required that no such Thing should be believed, have thought themselves at Liberty boldly to deny it; and not only so, but to suppose some other Original of Government. Strange Systems of Policy, and stranger of Religion, have been devised to sanctify these Usurpations. Education hath been set on the same Side; and saucy Authority hath prevail'd against the clearest Light of Nature, and the plainest Dictates of common Sense. No Man, who hath read and look'd abroad into the World, will think this too strange to be true; since there is no demonstrated Truth (such Truths I mean as are here spoken of) which may not be render'd, at least, very problematical by long, uniform, positive Contradiction; nor any demonstrated Lye, which may not be render'd probable to many, and certain to some, by long, uniform, positive Affirmation; according to a just Observation made by Father Paul on Occasion of Constantine's supposed Grant, and other

other Cheats of the Court of Rome. But we of this Country have been more happy. Our *original Contract* hath been recurred to often, we might safely defy the *Assertors of absolute Monarchy and arbitrary Will*, if there were any worth our Regard, to produce any one Point of Time, since which we know any Thing of our *Constitution*, wherein the whole Scheme of it would not have been one monstrous Absurdity, unless an *original Contract* had been supposed. Sure I am they must be worse than blind, if any such there are, who do not confess at this Time, and under the present Settlement, that our *Constitution* is in the strictest Sense a Bargain, a conditional *Contract between the Prince and the People*, as it always hath been, and still is between the *representative and collective Bodies of the Nation*.

That this Bargain may not be broken, on the Part of the Prince, with the People, the legislative, or supreme Power is vested by our Constitution in three Estates, whereof the King is one. Whilst the Members of the other Two preserve their private Independency, and those Estates are consequently under no Dependency except that which is in the Scheme of our Constitution, this Controul on the first will always be sufficient; and a bad King must stand in Awe of an honest Parliament.

That this Bargain may not be broken, on the Part of the representative Body, with the collective Body of the Nation, it is not only a principal, declared Right of the People of Britain, that the Elections of Members to sit in Parliament shall be free; but it hath been a principal Part of the Care and Attention of Parliaments, for more than 300 Years, to watch over this Freedom, and to secure it, by removing all Influence of the Crown, and all other corrupt Influence, from these Elections. This Care and Attention have gone still farther. They have provided, as far as they have been suffered to provide hitherto, by the constitutional Dependency of one House on the other, and of both on the Crown, that all such Influence should be removed from the Members, after they are chosen. Even here the Providence of our Constitution hath not stopped. Lest all other Provisions should be ineffectual to keep the Members of the House of Commons out of this unconstitutional Dependency, the Wisdom of our Constitution hath thought fit that the Representatives of the People should not have Time to forget that they are such. In a Word, our Constitution means that the Members of this Body should be kept, as it were, to their good Behaviour, by the frequent Returns of new Elections: So that as a bad King must stand in Awe of an honest Parliament, a corrupt House of Commons must stand in Awe of an honest People.

\* *Cunctas Nationes & Urbes Populus, aut Primores, aut singuli regunt. Delecta ex his & constituta Reipublicæ Forma laudari facilius quam evenire; vel, si evenit, baud diuturna esse potest.* Ann. Lib. 4.

Between these two Estates, there stands a third, the House of Peers; which may seem in Theory, perhaps, too much under the Influence of the Crown, to be a proper Controul upon it; because the sole Right of creating Peers resides in the Crown. This would be the Case, and an intolerable one indeed, if the Crown should exercise this Right often, as it hath been exercised sometimes with universal and most just Disapprobation. It is possible too that this may come to be the Case, in some future Age, by the Method of electing Peers to sit in Parliament, for one Part of the same Kingdom, by the frequent Translations of Bishops, and by other Means, if the Wisdom and Virtue of the present Age, and the favourable Opportunity of the present auspicious and indulgent Reign do not prevent it. But in all other Respects the Persons, who are once created Peers, and their Posterity, having a Right to sit and debate, and vote in the House of Peers, which cannot be taken from them, except by Forfeiture; all Influence of the Kind I have mentioned seems to be again removed, and their Share in the Government depending neither on the King, nor the People, they constitute a middle Order, and are properly Mediators between the other Two, in the Eye of our Constitution.

It is by this Mixture of Monarchical, Aristocratical, and Democratical Power, blended together in one System, and by these three Estates balancing one another, that our free Constitution of Government hath been preserved so long inviolate, or hath been brought back, after having suffered Violations, to its original Principles, and been renewed, and improved too, by frequent and salutary Revolutions. It is by this, that weak and wicked Princes have been opposed, restrained, reformed, punished by Parliaments; that the real, and perhaps the doubtful, Exorbitancies of Parliaments have been reduced by the Crown; and that the Heat of one House hath been moderated, or the Spirit raised, by the Proceedings of the other. Parliaments have had a good Effect on the People, by keeping them quiet; and the People on Parliaments, by keeping them within Bounds, which they were tempted to transgress. In a Word, two Things may be said with Truth of our Constitution, which I think neither can, nor ever could be said of any other. It secures Society against the Miseries, which are inseparable from simple Forms of Government, and is liable as little as possible to the Inconveniencies, that arise in mixed Forms.

Tacitus thinks such a Constitution of Government rather a Subject of fine Speculation, than of Practice. He thinks it much more likely that such a System should continue to be admired and praised in Idea \* than established in Fact; and if it happens ever to be



establish'd, he does not not imagine it can be supported long. Not only the real Difficulties, which his Sagacity presented to his Mind, but his Reflections on the Constitution and Fate of the *Roman Commonwealth* might lead *Tacitus* into this Despondency. But what the Refinements of *Roman Policy* could not do, hath been done in this Island upon Foundations laid by the rough Simplicity of our northern Ancestors.

There was so great a Mixture of monarchical Power in the *Roman Commonwealth*, that \* *Livy* dates the Original of Liberty from the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*, rather because the *Consular Dignity* was made annual, than because the *regal Power* had suffer'd any Diminution in that Change. The *dictatorial Power*, the most absolute that can be imagined, was introduced in eight, or at farthest in eleven Years afterwards, and may therefore be reckoned coeval with the *Commonwealth*; and whatever Diminution either this, or the *consular Power* might suffer, the Axes and the Rods were terrible to the last; especially when they were carried before a *Dictator*, for whom the *Tribunes of the People* were not a Match, as they were for the *Consuls*. But tho' there were three Sorts of Power exercised, there were but two Orders, or *Estates* established in this *Commonwealth*, the *Patricians* and the *Plebeians*; and the supreme Power was divided accordingly between the *Senate* and the *collective*, not a *representative Body of the People*. These two Orders, or *Estates* had frequent Contests, and well they might since they had very opposite Interests. When the *Senate* was inflexible, the *People* had immediate Recourse to Sedition. When the *People* was refractory, the *Senate* had Recourse to a *Dictator*. Sedition was temporary Anarchy. A *Dictator* was a Tyrant for six Months, unless he thought fit to abdicate sooner. The *Constitution* was suspended, and endangered by both. It might have been destroy'd by the Excesses of one. It was destroy'd by the bare Duration of the other.

The State of *Rome*, and of the greatest Men in that *Commonwealth*, would have deserved Pity rather than Envy, even in the best Times, if their defective Constitution had not made such a State of Trouble and Tumult the Price they paid for the Maintenance of their Liberty. But this was not the whole Price. Whilst *Rome* advanced triumphantly in conquering the *World*, as her Orators, Poets and Historians have express'd themselves; that is, a few Nations round the *Mediterranean Sea*, and little more; her Citizens turn'd against one another those Weapons, which were put into their Hands against

the Enemies of *Rome*; mutual Proscriptions and bloody Massacres followed; each Party triumph'd in its Turn; they were more animated and better disciplin'd by their Contests; both grew stronger; the *Commonwealth* alone grew weaker; and *Pompey* and *Cæsar* finish'd the last tragical Scene, which *Marius* and *Sylla* began. In fine, the *Roman Commonwealth* would have been dissolved much sooner than it was, by the Defects I have mentioned, if such a Spirit of Wisdom as well as Courage, and such an Enthusiasm for the Grandeur, the Majesty, and the Duration of their Empire had not possessed this People, as never possess'd any other. When this Spirit decay'd, when this Enthusiasm cool'd, the Constitution could not help, nay work'd against itself. That *Dictatorial Power*, on which the *Senate* had always depended for preserving it, compleated the Ruin of it, in the Hands of *Cæsar*; and that *Tribunitial Power*, to which the *People* had always trusted the Defence of their Liberty, confirmed their Slavery, in the Hands of *Augustus*.

*Grubstreet Journal*, Nov. 21. N<sup>o</sup> 256.

Mr. Bavius,

I Beg Leave, by your *Journal*, to communicate to the Publick a speedy, safe, and effectual Cure for Vapours in Women, which I found out as follows.

It was my Fortune to marry a Wife, young gay, and handsome; with whom I have lived in the greatest Unanimity and conjugal Affection. After we had been several Years in this State, and blessed with a fair Offspring, she proved with Child again, was safely delivered, and in a very fair Way of doing well, 'till her Month was almost expired. When on a sudden she complained of a Lowness of Spirits, Giddiness in her Head, and a defective Memory. However, she recovered her bodily Strength, grew plump, and looked perfectly well: Yet her Distemper increased to such a Degree, that I heard nothing Morning, Noon, and Night, but a continual Repetition of her Miseries; which she said, would soon end her Life; mixing all her Complaints with such extravagant Questions, as made me apprehensive it would turn to Madness. None but the sondest Husbands can conceive my Grief. I applied to an Apothecary, who plyed her with Medicines, desired her to take a chearful Glass to raise her Spirits, and go much abroad to divert her Melancholy. All this was done, but in vain: The Distemper still increased, and she commonly appeared in Tears. I consulted some, who told me of many cured by different Ac-

\* *Libertatis Originem inde magis, quia annum Imperium Consulare factum est, quam quod diminutum quisquam sit ex Regia Potestate, numerat. Omnia Jura, omnia Insignia primi Consulatus tenuit. Lib. Cap. 1.*

cidents, but none by the Physicians Aid. Then began I to think, that since only the Rich, and such as pampered themselves, and indulged their Appetites, were plagued with this hellish Distemper, from which the laborious and indigent are free; I say, I began to think, that the same Diet and Exercise, which prove such excellent Preservatives to the Poor, must be as good Restoratives to the Rich. I therefore persuaded a Friend of mine to counterleit the Doctor, gave him proper Instructions, and then carried my Wife to him for Advice. Having heard her Case very attentively, he ordered her never to drink any Thing stronger than Small Beer; never to go abroad but to Church; and to be sure to work some Hours every Day. She began this hard Task, as soon as she came Home; but complained, that she grew worse and worse. But when she saw that I insisted on the Performance, she continued it, and soon grew much better: And now (thank God) is as well as any Woman in the Parish. I know the Doctors, Surgeons, and Women, will all declare against me, and affirm, that Small Beer and Water will never raise low Spirits: But let the Husbands consider, that spirituous Liquors raise them only for a short Space, after which they will sink lower than ever; and that frequent going abroad will make their Dears brook staying at Home much worse. A Word is enough to the Wife.

I am

Your Humble Servant,

LAERTIUS.

Free Briton, Nov. 21. N<sup>o</sup> 263.

*Reflections on a Passage in the Craftsman, concerning Church Establishments.*

THE Writer of the Dissertation on Parties hath declared himself an Enemy to all the Rights of the People, by Denying the Principles of Liberty, in so capital an Instance, as to leave us without any Pretence to Civil Right, since he deprives us even of Liberty in Matters of Conscience.

‘Some Men there are, says he, the Pests of Society I think them, who pretend a great Regard for Religion in general, but who take every Opportunity of declaiming publicly against that System of Religion, or, at least, against that Church Establishment which is received in Britain.’ (This being only a Digression, we took no Notice of it in the Essay here refer’d to, which is that in p. 378.)

The fiercest Bigots that ever dragooned Mankind into Conformity, never laid down a stronger Proposition for Systems and Forms, and all the Engines of Ecclesiastical Tyranny. By this the most sincere Lovers of Religion,

and the truest Friends of Liberty, who think, from Duty to God and Man, that the Power of Churchmen ought to be restrained, and the Grievances of Church Government redressed; such are, by this Author, branded as the Pests of Society.

From hence it follows that all Dissenters from that Church Establishment which is received in Britain; all Persons who cannot assent to its Terms of Communion, its Modes, its Ceremonies, and infinite other Appurtenances of its Establishment; all such Protestant Subjects of Britain, be they Presbyterians, Quakers, &c. all who are not System-Mongers, and Conformists to established Opinions, are, in a Body, involved in this mild, this gentle, and charitable Censure of being Pests of Society.

Certain it is, that by all the Construction of Words, a Church Establishment is nothing more than an Establishment of Churchmen, with Powers, Privileges, and Revenues, such as the Laws of the Kingdom allow them to enjoy, in strict and absolute Subjection to the Civil Magistrate. To differ in Opinion with these Reverend Gentlemen, concerning their Claims and Pretensions, may well consist with the greatest Regard for Religion; and the Case hath sometimes been, that sensible Men could not agree with them consistently at all with any Regard for Religion. To load such Difference of Opinion with an universal Censure of being the Pestilence of Society, is a Strain that few Ecclesiasticks, of common Discretion, would be so immodest, or so uncharitable, as to write in, and may seem much fitter for an Inquisitor of Portugal, than for a Writer who pretends to plead in Defence of the Liberties of Britain.

We then come to the great Consideration, how this learned Advocate of Civil Liberty is to be reconciled with common Sincerity, after such a daring Invasion of Liberty in Religious Matters, especially as he might have been led by his Reflections a little further, without catching the Pestilence, and have found that all Systems of Religion, or at least Church Establishments, which stand upon Support from Civil Power, are so far of a Civil or Political Nature, and as such, mere Things of this World, nor any ways exempt from the Censures of free Enquiry.

Take it now as certain, that the Gentleman really and sincerely means whatever he says throughout this Dissertation; the Sum of it is this, that Liberty may be laudably exercised in State Affairs, but is a Plague where it meddles with Church Points.

As Truth is of an universal Nature, and cannot be confined to Places, the same Restriction on Liberty in Church Enquiries may be contended for, with Relation to all Countries in the World; so that the Force of this Argument will be infinite, and it will run in these



these Terms: 'Some Men there are, the *Pests of Society* I think them, who pretend a great Regard for Religion in general, but who take every Opportunity of declaiming in Publick against that *System of Religion*, or at least against that *Church Establishment* which is received in *Turkey, Morocco, Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, &c.*' For Britain is of no essential Import in this Proposition, but as it is one of many Nations which hath received a *Church Establishment*.

This is the old *Leaven of High Church*, a Cause which we once beheld in Perfection under the prevailing Power of this *very Person*, who writes *this Dissertation*, and whose Heart is so much bewitch'd with Idolatry to it, that he cannot conceal his Bigotry for it, tho' professing to treat of the Subject of *Civil Liberty*, with which it militates an everlasting Warfare.

*Fog's Journal*, Nov. 23. N<sup>o</sup> 316.

*Bel and the Dragon.*

S I R,

I Was the other Day reading in my Bible, and it happen'd to be in the *Apocrypha*; and tho' this Part be not held of equal Authority with the rest, yet many Things in it deserve our Attention. I was strangely affected with the stupid Idolatry of the *Babylonians*, who worshiped an Idol call'd *Bel*, which Idol devoured every Day 12 great Measures of fine Flower, 40 Sheep, and 6 Vessels of Wine; all which was paid for by the poor People. This Idol is described to be made of Brass without, and of Clay within,—very fine Materials you will say to make a God of;—but notwithstanding he was made of such base Metal, he had 72 Priests, with their Wives and Children in his Service.

There was also a great Dragon which they of *Babylon* worshiped, but I take it, that *Bel* and the Dragon were but two different Representatives of one false Object of Worship. But see how Princes may be deceived in their Notions of a Divinity; for the King said to *Daniel*, *Thinkest thou not that Bel is a living God; seest thou how much he eateth and drinketh every Day?* But *Daniel* smiled at this odd Notion of a Divinity; he undeceived the King, and brought about the Destruction of *Bel*, and his Priests.

Did you never hear of an Idol set up in any other Country, that in all Respects answered the Description of *Bel*? An Idol that was all Brass without, and nothing but Mud and Corruption within; an Idol that devour'd much more than 12 Measures of fine Flower, 40 Sheep, and 6 Vessels of Wine each Day, and all at the Expence of the poor People, especially when he went upon some

Pleasures into his own Country; an Idol that had 72 Priests with their Wives and Children intirely in his Service.

I am told there is such a Story in profane History, but I have not been able to find it, perhaps you may have met with it in the Course of your Reading; if you have, I should be glad you would give us some Observations upon it, and let us know particularly whether there was a *Daniel* who endeavoured to rectify the King's Judgment in Regard to this Idol, and whether his Destruction with that of his 72 Priests, their Wives and Children, was brought about at last.

Yours, &c.

*Craftsman*, Nov. 23. N<sup>o</sup> 438.

*The Dissertation on Parties continued from p. 587. In which the antient Constitution of Spain, and the Causes of its Subversion are examined.*

THE Defects I have censured in the *Roman Constitution of Government*, were avoided in some of those, that were established, on the breaking of that Empire, by the *northern Nations* and the *Goths*; for I suspect that the *Goths* were not properly and strictly a *northern Nation*, any more than the *Huns* and the *Alans*, tho' they have been often confounded, and I believe by myself. --- Let us cast our Eyes on *Spain* and *France*.

We cannot arrive at any particular and authentick Account of the Scheme of that Government, which the *Western Goths* established, when, driven out of *Gaul* by the *Franks*, they drove the *Vandals* and the *Alans* out of *Spain*; nor distinguish very accurately between such Institutions as were Parts of the *original, Gothic Plan*, and such as were introduced into the several Kingdoms, that form'd themselves on the Re-Conquest of the Country by the *Spaniards* from the *Arabs* and *Moors*. The Original of the *Cortes* particularly is quite in the Dark, as we are assured by a very *judicious Writer*. Thus much however we may assert; that the *Gothick Kings* were at first *elective*, and always *limited*, even after they became *hereditary*; and that the *Cortes*, was an Assembly, that may be more truly compared to a *British Parliament* than the Assembly of the *Estates of France*. *Churchmen* had wriggled themselves into a Share of temporal Power among the *Goths*, as they did in every Country where they were admitted to preach the Gospel, tho' without any Authority from the Gospel; so that the *Cortes* consisted of *Prelates*, as well as *Dukes, Masters of Orders, Earls* and *Ricoshomes*, who composed the whole Body of the Nobility; and of the *Procurators of the Commons*; that is, of the *Citizens* and *Burgesses*.

H

gesses, chosen by the *Cities and Boroughs* to represent the *whole Body of the Commons*. To preserve the *Independency* of this Assembly, these *Procurators* were to be paid by the *Corporations*, for which they served; the *King* was to give no *Office*, or *Salary* to any of them, he was not to name their *President*, nor even to send *Letters unopened to any of them*. No *Money* could be raised on the *Subjects* without their *Consent*; and it was a standing *Maxim*, or *Order*, that *Redress of Grievances* should precede the *Grants of Supplies*. Such a *Frame of Government* seems built for *Duration*; and, in *Fact*, if it had not been undermined, it could not have been demolished. It was undermined by the *Influence of the Court*, too much conniv'd at, and too long tolerated, on the *Members of the Cortes*. When corrupt *Majorities* were secured, *Pretences* were not wanting, for making *Concessions* to the *Crown*, repugnant to the *Spirit of the Constitution*, and even inconsistent with the *Forms of it*. Such *Pretences*, however plausible, would not have been admitted by Men zealous to preserve their *Liberty*. But the \* *Members of the Cortes* were no longer such Men, when *Castile* lost her *Liberties* under *Charles the Vth*. The *Custom of bribing the Representatives of the Commons by Gifts and Promises*, and so securing a *Majority* to the *Court*, had long prevail'd; and after that, it is not to be wonder'd at if *Excises*, given for eight Years only, became perpetual; if *Money* was granted before *Grievances* were redress'd; and if the *Precedent*, set in the Time of *Henry the 11d*, was followed in all succeeding *Reigns*. The *Cortes* gave this *Prince* a *Supply*, for making *War on the Moors*; but the † *Sum* being represented by the *Court* to be insufficient, it was carried that, in Case of a *Deficiency*, the *King* might raise, without calling a *Cortes*, the *Money* necessary to make good that *Deficiency*. This gave an incurable and fatal *Wound* to that *Constitution*. The *Precedent* having been made, in Favour of one *King*, and in one particular *Conjuncture*, it became a prevailing *Argument*, in Favour of every other *King*, and in every other *Conjuncture*.

Let me here make the following *Observation*: Tho' it be proper, in all *limited Monarchies*, to guard against all *Concessions*, or *Usurpations*, that may destroy the *Balance of Power*, on which the *Preservation of Liberty* depends; yet is it certain that *Concessions* to the *Crown* from the other, constituent *Parts of the Legislature* are almost alone to be feared. The *Reasons* of this are obvious; for, first, a *King* is really nothing more than a *supreme Magistrate*, instituted for the *Service of the Community*, which requires that the *executive Power* should be vested in a *single Person*. He hath, indeed, a *Crown* on his Head, a *Scepter* in his Hand, and *Velvet Robes* on his Back, and he sits elevated on a *Throne*, whilst

\* *Ib.*† *Ib.*

others stand on the *Ground* about him; and all this to denote that he is a *King*, and to draw the *Attention and Reverence* of the *Vulgar*. Just so, another *Man* wears a *Mitre* on his Head, a *Crosier* in his Hand, and *Lawen Sleeves*, and sits in a *Purple, Elbow-Chair*, to denote that he is a *Bishop*, and to excite the *Devotion* of the *Multitude*, who receive his *Benediction* very thankfully on their *Knees*. But still the *King*, as well as the *Bishop*, holds an *Office*, and owes a *Service*. The *King*, when he commands, discharges a *Trust*, and performs a *Duty*, as well as the *Subject*, when he obeys. Notwithstanding which, *Kings* are apt to see themselves in another *Light*; and *Experience* shews us that even they, who made them what they are, are apt to take them for what they are not. From hence it happened in *Spain*, and may happen possibly in other *Countries*, that the *Kings*, instead of being satisfy'd with, and thankful for the *Dignity, Honour, Power* and *Wealth*, which they possess'd in so eminent a *Degree*, repin'd at their being possess'd of no more; their *Sycophants* reasoned, as if the *sole Power* of the *Government*, and the *whole Wealth* of the *Nation*, belong'd of Right to them, and the *Limitations* of the *Monarchy* were so many *Usurpations* on the *Monarch*. Besides this constant *Desire* of *incroaching*, there is another *Reason* why *Concessions* to the *Crown* are more to be guarded against than others, in *limited Monarchies*. The *regal Power* resides in one *Person*. The other shares of the *supreme Power* are assign'd to *Bodies of Men*. From hence it follows that the *Interest of the King*, and the *Interest of the Crown*, cannot well be divided in the *Mind of a Prince*; whereas the *Interest of each Individual* may be distinguished from the *Interest of the Nobility*, or of the *Commons*, and still more from that of the *Nation*, in the *Minds* of those, who compose an *House of Peers*, or who are *Representatives of the People*. Several other *Reasons* might be insisted upon to establish the *Truth* of the *Observation*, and to shew how unfairly they argue, who all along suppose that the *Independency of the Crown* may as easily be lost, and the *Balance of Power* be destroy'd on that Side, by *Concessions from the Prince*, and *Usurpations on him*, as the *Independency of the Lords, or Commons*, may be lost, and the *Balance of Power* be destroyed on that Side, by *Concessions to the Prince*, and by his *Usurpations*.

Happy had it been for the *People of Castile*, if they had seen this *Danger* in Time, and had remedied, whilst it was in their *Power*, those *Defects* in their *Constitution*, whatever they were, which gave their *Kings* by *Degrees* such an *Influence* over the *Cortes*, as overturn'd at last the *whole Constitution*, and gain'd to the *German Race*, that began to reign in *Charles the 5th*, (for his *Father Philip*



lip is scarce to be reckoned) such an absolute Power as the *Gotick Kings* had never been able to obtain. Tho' *Charles* the Vth was a very able Prince, yet had he been the meekest Tool, a Thing of Straw, but something less than a Scarecrow, and unable to protect the Property of his Subjects, he might still have taken their Liberties from them, in that Conjunction, as he did most effectually. Corruption was established; a Majority of the *Cortes* was bribed; the *Nobility* was detach'd from the common Interest by *Titles, Places, Pensions, and Grants*; and the *Clergy* in general, for Exceptions there were, took no farther Share in it than their particular Piques, or some indirect and fleeting Considerations inspired them to take. The Nation saw itself betray'd, and the *Commons* protested loudly against the Proceedings of their *Representatives*. But this was the very Point, for which the Enemies of the *Castilian Constitution* waited; and as soon as a Pretence for employing Force was given them, they muffled themselves up in that threadbare Cloak of Zeal for the *Government*, and stabbed their Country to the Heart. An Ordinance of the *Cortes* had been made, about an hundred Years before, against increasing the *standing Forces* to more than 4000 Soldiers in Garrisons, and 1500 *Ginets*. This Ordinance had not been very well observed. The long Wars with the *Moors* made Armies often necessary, when there was no actual War. The Danger of being invaded by the *Moors*, (for every *Moorish King* was deemed a Pretender to the Throne) might serve to make them so represented; and when this Reason fail'd intirely, as it did by the Conquest of *Granada*, the last Possession of these People in *Spain*, Pretences for keeping Armies on Foot were still to be found. There were still *Moorish Factions*; the *new Christians* were *Moors* in their Hearts; amongst the *old Christians* there were several, who favour'd them; the People were not to be trusted with their own Preservation; *Cbievres*, the rapacious Minister of *Charles V.* and his *Journeymen*, (for so were those *Spaniards* call'd, according to *Dr. Geddes*, who did not care how much their Country was plunder'd by Foreigners, provided they shared the Spoils) *Cbievres*, I say, and his *Journeymen*, F a real Faction, and perhaps not a great one, were the fast Friends of the *Government*. The rest of the Nation were open, or secret Enemies. According to this excellent Logick, the former were to be protected in Blundering, for they were guilty of that too, as well as in Plundering; and the latter were to be oppress'd for complaining. The Nation was sacrific'd to a Faction, and an excellent Constitution destroyed, in Favour of a profligate Government. This Destruction however would not have been so easily accomplished, nor would *Castilians* alone have enslav'd *Castile* to a foreign Race, after asserting their Liberty

so often, and so boldly, against Princes of their own Country, if two other Circumstances had not concurred. *Ferdinand* had conquer'd *Navarre*, and a regular, disciplin'd Army defended that Conquest against the *French*. This Army which was at Hand, march'd into *Castile*, defeated the *Commons*, and extinguish'd Liberty in a Country, where it had been long declining. The *Commons* were justify'd for taking Arms, in the Opinion of the *Nobility*, and even in that of *Adrian*, who govern'd during the Absence of *Charles*, whose Praeceptor he had been; for this honest Man, (too honest to be long endur'd on the Papal Throne, where he was afterwards placed,) affirmed that all the Troubles of *Castile* were caused by the King, and by his covetous and tyrannical Ministers. The Conduct of the *Commons*, upon this great Occasion, was in many Instances rash and violent, as well as ill-advis'd and weak. But they were tumultuous Assemblies driven into Despair; and the *Nobility* who might have had great Sway amongst them, and might have help'd to regulate their Fire, and to keep them sober, help'd on the contrary to make them mad, either by neglecting them, or by taking Part against them, till it was too late; and then complained of their being mad with as ill a Grace as the principal Men of *Rome*, who help'd to corrupt that People, complained of their Corruption, and assign'd it as a Reason for depriving them of their Liberty.

These cannot be a greater Solecism in Politicks than that of a *Nobility*, under monarchical Government, who suffer the Liberty of the *Commons* to be taken away. In *Aristocracies* the *Nobility* get whatever the *Commons* lose; but in *Monarchies* the Crown alone is the Gainer, and the certain Consequence of their helping to enslave the *Commons*, must be that of being enslaved themselves at last. How, indeed, should it be otherwise; since the Liberty of the *Commons* cannot be taken away, unless the Constitution be first broken; and since neither the *Peers*, nor any one else, can hold their Privileges, or their Properties, by a better Tenure than that of arbitrary Will, when the Constitution is once broken? The *Grandees*, as they are pompously styled, the Successors of those Men, who thought to rise on the Ruin of the *Commons* of *Castile*, they, who have the vain Honour of cocking their Hats in the Presence of their Prince, have been seen to stand at awful Distance, or approach with respectful Cringe, in the Presence of a Parasite and Buffoon.

I know full well that, in such Governments as we speak of here, it is both the Duty and Interest of the *Nobility* to oppose the Excesses of the *Commons*; but I know too that they have another Duty, which they are not to leave undone; another Point of Interest, which they are not to neglect.

There was a Time, our Fathers saw it, when an *House of Commons* destroyed, instead of supporting, the *Constitution*, and introduced *Tyranny*, under Pretence of excluding *Slavery*. I think it might be shewn from the *Anecdotes* of that Age, that this could not have happened, if the *Court* had not been so long and so partially abetted by the greatest Part of the *Nobility* and *Clergy*, both in the *House of Lords* and out of it. An universal and timely Concurrence with the Spirit of the *Commons*, which was pious in the true Sense of the Word at first, would have had, I presume, the full Effect that every honest Man proposed in a Parliamentary Reformation of the State; and those fatal Opportunities, that were afterwards given to the *Republican*, *Presbyterian* and *Independent Factions*, would have been avoided. But they, who could have trimmed (for there is a *wise* and *honest*, as well as a *filly* and *corrupt Trimming*) or have mediated with Success, lost the Power of doing either; some by abetting the *Crown* so long, for Fear of the *Commons*, and others by concurring with the *Commons* so far, for Fear of the *Crown*, that the *People* in general had no Confidence in the *former*, and that the *latter* were afraid to trust their *Prince* after all they had done against him. If any Men had trusted to the plausible Professions of the *Court* at that Time, and the *Court* had subdued the *opposite Party*, we may judge, without any Breach of Charity, that these Men would have found themselves deceived. Just so, if any Men, who meant the Reformation, not the Destruction of the State, believed in the canting Reformers of that Age, such Men were no doubt egregiously deceiv'd. But I confess myself of Opinion, that there were few, or no such Men. The good Intentions of the *Court* were distrusted even by those who took Arms for the *King*; and the ill Intentions of many of the Leaders on the *other Side* were suspected, no Doubt, by many, who took Arms for the *Parliament*. But *two* of the *three Estates* being ripe for the rashest Enterprizes, and the *third* being in no Condition to mediate, the Extremes clash'd without any Power sufficient to interpose; and when the Sword was drawn, the Sword could alone decide. I conclude therefore, from these two Examples, that as there cannot be a greater Error in Politicks than that of a *Nobility*, who assist a *Prince* to take away the Liberties and Privileges of the *Commons*, which was the Case in *Castile*; so the surest Way of preventing that terrible Dilemma, wherein Men are obliged to chuse either Submission to tyrannical Government, or Concurrence with an *enraged* and no longer governable *People* (which hath been the Case in *Castile* and *Britain* both,) is for the *Nobility*, and the principal Men amongst the *Commons*, to engage so early in the

Cause of *Liberty*, that the *former* may be always in Condition to mediate with Effect, and the *latter* have always Power to allay the intemperate Heat of their own Body.

*Universal Spectator*, Nov. 23. N<sup>o</sup> 320.

A *Of Ghosts and Apparitions.*

THERE is no Folly more predominant (in the Country at least) than a ridiculous superstitious Fear of *Ghosts* and *Apparitions*. *Servants*, *Nurses*, *old Women*, and other of the same Standard of Wisdom, to pass away the Tedioufness of a Winter's Evening, please and terrify themselves and the *Children*, who compose their Audience, with strange Relations of these Things, till they are even afraid of removing their Eyes from one another for Fear of seeing a *pale Spectre* entering the Room. Frightful Ideas raised in the Minds of *Children*, take so strong a Possession of the Faculties, that they often remain for ever fixt, and all the Arguments of Reason can never be able to remove them. Hence it is so many grown up People still keep the ridiculous Fears of their Infancy: I know a Lady of very good Sense in other Things, who, if she is left by herself after 10 o'Clock at Night, will faint away at the Terror of thinking some horrid Spectre with Eyes sunk, meagre Countenance, and threatening Aspect is standing at her Elbow: And an Officer in the *Guards* of my Acquaintance, who has often in *Flanders* shewn no Concern in marching up to the Mouth of a Cannon, has not Courage enough to be in the Dark without Company. As I think the Fear of *Ghosts*, like all other Prejudices, to be imbib'd in our Infancy, I would recommend this Advice to all Parents, to take the utmost Care that the Minds of their *Children* are not vitiated by their *Servants* Fables of *Ghosts*, and *Hob-Goblins*, and *Bugbears*, which, tho' told to please them, or frighten them into Good, seldom fail of producing bad Effects.

There are some who are *Ghost mad*, and terrify themselves because the Scripture has mentioned the Appearance of *Ghosts*. I shall not dispute but by the Power of God an incorporeal Being may be visible to Human Eyes, but then an all-wise Power would not have recourse to a pretornatural Effect but on some important Occasion: Therefore my Intention is only to laugh a ridiculous Fear out of the World, by shewing on what absurd and improbable Foundations the common Notions of *Ghosts* and *Apparitions* are built, and upon what trifling Causes they revisit us again.

In the Country there are generally allow'd to be two Sorts of *Ghosts*; the *Vulgar Ghost*, and the *Ghost of Dignity*. The latter is always the Spirit of some Lord of the Manor



of *Justice of the Peace*, who, still desirous to see how Affairs go on in his Parish, rattles thro' it in a *Coach and Six* much about Midnight. This *Ghost* is in every Respect the very same Man that the Person whom he represents was in his *Life-time*. Nay, the *Spirit*, tho' *incorporeal*, has on its *Body* all the Marks which the *Esquire* had on his, the *Scar* on the *Cheek*, the *Dimple* on the *Chin*, and twenty other demonstrative Signs, which are *visible* to any old Woman in the Parish that can see *clearly* in a *dark Night*.

This *Ghost* keeps up to the Character of a good old grave Gentleman, who is heartily sorry to think his Son will not live upon his Estate, but ramble up to *London*, and run it out perhaps in Extravagance: He therefore does nothing inconsistent with the Gravity of his Character, but still retaining the generous Heart of a true Briton, keeps his *Coach and Six* and loves good *Living* and *Hospitality*; for after the *Coach and Six* has, with a solemn Rumble, pass'd thro' the Village into his own Court-Yard, in a little Time after there is a great Noise heard in the House of Servants running up and down Stairs, the *Jacks* going, and a great Clattering of *Plates* and *Dishes*. Thus he spends an Hour or two every Midnight in *living well*, after he has been some Years *dead*; but is complaisant enough to leave every Thing at his Departure in the same Position he found them.

There is scarce a little Town in all England but has an old female Spirit appertaining to it, who, in her *Highb-Crown Hat*, mighty clean Linen, and a red Petticoat, has been view'd by half the Parish. This Article of Dress is of mighty Concern among some *Ghosts*; wherefore a skilful and learned Apparition-Writer, in the Preface to *Drelincourt on Death*, makes a very pious *Ghost* talk to a Lady upon the important Subject of *scourging a Mantua*. Before I leave my *Ghosts of Dignity* I must take Notice of some who take Delight to appear as formidable as possible, and who are not content with appearing without any Heads themselves, but their *Coachmen* and *Horses* must be without Heads too, and the *Coach* itself all on Fire. These Spirits, I know not for what Reason, are universally allow'd to have been People of *Quality* and *Courtiers*.

As for the vulgar *Ghost*, it seldom appears in its own bodily Likeness, unless it be with a Throat cut from Ear to Ear, or a *Winding-sheet*, but humbly contents itself with the Body of a *White Horse*, that gallops over the Meadows without Legs, and grazes without a Head. On other Occasions it takes the Appearance of a black *stock Dog*, who with great, goggle, glaring Eyes stares you full in the Face, but never hurts you more than unmannerly pushing you from the Wall. Sometimes a *Friendly Ghost* surprizes you with a Hand as cold as Clay; at other Times that

same *Ghostly Hand* gives three solemn Raps, with several Particularities according to the different Dispositions of the *Ghosts*.

The chief Reason which calls them back again to visit the World by Night, is their Fondness for some old Broad-Pieces or a Pot of Money they buried in their Life-Time; they cannot rest to have it lye useless, therefore the Gold raises them before the Resurrection. (See another Essay on this Subject, with a pleasant Story of Bishop Fowler and Judge Powel, Vol. I. p. 333, 335.)

The Prompter, Nov. 26. N<sup>o</sup> 5.

Of Love and Beauty.

THERE is nothing more generally believ'd by all, to be known, and less understood, in Fact, than Love. As Plants receive a Tincture from the Soil in which they grow, so Love too often receives a strong Colouring from the Temper of the Lover. Hence that Variety which we see on the Theatre of the World—The Platonic and Sensual; the Jealous and Indifferent; the Constant and Roving; the Over-warm and Too-cool; the Disinterested, that has the Happiness of the Object beloved, in View; and the Interested, that only consults his own.

The true, and only Object of Love, is Beauty. He, therefore, (and only he) that can taste Beauty, can feel Love. But there are two Kinds of Beauty, mental and corporeal; whence Love of Necessity, can never be the Result of one only: A Savage may taste the last, that can have no Idea of the first; whereas none can taste the first, without having, not only an Idea of the last, but a Capability of it.

The Cue, then, that I would give my pretty Readers in general, is, not to be led by the Eye alone. I do not offer them the Counter Caution, since they seldom take the Pains, to discover a beautiful Mind thro' an indifferent, or an ugly Mask. They generally stop at first Appearances; and unless the Prospect invite, seldom walk into the Mind: Whereas it is inconceivable what Pains they'll take to find out Beauties in a Mind prettily lodg'd: Nay some will sit down contented in the House, tho' there be no Inhabitants at all, or, what is yet worse, tho' it be haunted by an evil Spirit. As an Encouragement, however, for them to look in, tho' the Outside may not tempt the Sight, I will venture to assure them, that the greater a Man's Sense is, the higher will his Sentiments of Love be, and his Passion the more permanent.

I shall conclude with two different Pictures of Beauty drawn from the Lie: When I behold the beautiful *Miranda*, adorn'd with Youth and Innocence; when I behold the loveliest of Complexions, enrich'd with the most

most regular and pleasing Features, and warm'd with the purest Blood, which no unbecoming Desires spread over her Face; when, in her Eyes, I read the Thoughts that swell her Bosom, and give her Soul to my View; when she lays herself more open still to my Admiration, and adds *Words* to *Looks*, that never contradict each other; when she goes yet further, and, in the general Course of her Behaviour, I see *Complacency*, true *Regard*, decent *Mirth*, and agreeable *Sobriety*, blended together in such a Manner, that an Action, which in *another* would be indifferent, in *Miranda* bears the Stamp of Merit: — How inestimable would such a Companion be! But when I turn my Eyes on her Sister *Belinda*, and see a Form equal in Beauty to *Miranda's* animated only by a *Consciousness* of her own Beauty; when I see Pride, or Scorn, for ever peeping out of her Eyes, and Folly speaking out of her Mouth; when every Motion of *Belinda* is accompanied with an Affectation, visible to every Beholder, and tending to inspire Love, that she may exercise Tyranny; when every Action is ting'd with *Self-Love*, and *Want of Regard* for every one else; — I cannot help being concern'd, that Beauty should act so unnatural a Part, as to turn its Arms against, and kill itself.

*Fog's Journal*, Nov. 30. N° 317.

*Some farther Remarks on Richard II'd's Reign.*

WHOEVER takes the Pains to look into History, and to examine the Attempts that have been frequently made upon the Liberties of *England*, will find that these Attempts have not proceeded so much from the evil Dispositions of the Princes themselves, as from their unhappy Choice of their Ministers.

That unfortunate Prince *Richard II.* had Nothing in his Nature either Cruel or Tyrannical; his easy Temper lay indeed too open to the Insinuations of designing Knaves, who poison'd his Mind, and made him believe that all those that stood up for the Interest and Liberty of the Subject, were Enemies to his Person and Government. It does not appear however, that the People employ'd in this Reign did at their first coming into Power lay any Scheme, for making the Government Arbitrary, but the universal Hatred justly rais'd against them by their wicked Conduct, at length made it altogether inconsistent with their Safety that it should be otherwise; therefore when they became sensible of the Danger their Crimes had brought them into, they saw plainly that they were all undone, unless they could procure a pack'd Parliament. To this Purpose they led the King to *Nottingham*, where having prevail'd upon him to summon the Sheriffs of

all the Counties, they were tamper'd with (let who will be elected by the People) to return none but such as the King or his Council should name; but it seems the Sheriffs answer'd that they could not hinder the People from their antient Custom of free Elections, nor would they return any other than such as should be thus freely elected; and indeed they were as good as their Words. The People being thus left at their Liberty, elected a Parliament of *Englishmen*, and the Sheriffs return'd the very same Persons whom they elected, which is more than has been practis'd by the Returning Officers at all Times since.

The Consequence of these Proceedings was such as must always happen while the Constitution is preserved Pure; this Parliament began by redressing the publick Grievances, and by examining into the Conduct of those in the Administration; and having found that all the publick Calamities proceeded from them, they impeach'd several of them, and pass'd a Bill for banishing out of the Nation many of their Tools and Understrappers, both Male and Female, Natives and Foreigners, and to crown the Work, they caus'd *Tresilian*, Lord Chief Justice of *England*, to be hang'd at Tyburn, as also the Steward of the Household, with some others; and if that Tree had much oftner bore the like Fruit it would not have been worse for the Constitution of *England*; but so tender was this Parliament of preserving the Royal Prerogative, and the Dignity of the Crown, that they declared, that considering the tender Age of the King, and the Innocency of his Royal Person, nothing should be accounted any Fault or Dishonesty in him in any Manner, nor should turn to his personal Prejudice by any Contrivance or Interpretation whatsoever.

This Parliament being dissolved, the Ministers and Favourites began to think of recovering their Power, and they still had such a fatal Influence over the King's Mind, that he continued to be directed by them; so that they prevail'd upon him to supply the Places of those that were hang'd and had been oblig'd to withdraw, with Tools and Creatures of their own, Persons of the like Virtues with the former; but lest they should incur the same Fate, they took a safer Course than to tamper with the Sheriffs already named, and therefore appointed Persons on purpose to be Sheriffs of the Counties, and procur'd others to be appointed Returning Officers in Boroughs, such Men as would go thro' Thick and Thin for Hire, and to the Infamy of that Age be it spoke, there were Persons to be found in this Nation profligate enough to undertake that Task.

Now you had all the scandalous Tricks put in Practice: In one Corporation perhaps where the Votes were but few in Number, those



those who were known to have the fewest Votes were declared by the Officers duly elected, and if a Scrutiny was demanded it was refused, — in populous Cities or Towns when the Returning Officers saw it going against the Side they were hired to return, they would shut up the Books, suffer no more to poll, and declare the Poll closed, then carry the Books to a private Place, without suffering the Inspectors to be present when they were cast up, or perhaps they did not give themselves the Trouble to cast them up at all, which is most likely, and peremptorily declare the two Tools to be fairly elected; so that only for the Form of an Election, if they had declared whom they thought fit without any Election at all, it would have been exactly the same Thing to the Publick.

Craftsman, Nov. 30. N<sup>o</sup> 439.

*The Dissertation on Parties continued from p. 592. In which the Defects of the Constitution of France are considered.*

THE Commons of France seem either not to have had, or to have lost, in the dark Beginnings of that Monarchy, all Share in the supreme, legislative Power. The great, original Defect of having but two Estates to share the supreme Power is an Objection common to the Roman, and to the French Constitutions, with this Difference; of the three simple Forms of Government, the Monarchical, the Aristocratical, and the Democratical, Rome wanted the first, and France hath always wanted the last. Rome had a Nobility and a Commonalty, but no Magistracy fitted by its Institution to answer the Purposes of that supreme Magistrate, who is called King, even in limited Monarchies. France hath always had a King and a Nobility; but the People have not had, I presume, since the Government of the Franks was fully established on this Side of the Rhine, and the Form of their Monarchy settled, any Share in the supreme Power, either collectively or representatively.

The Franks were a Nation of Germany, seated at one Time between the Elbe, Rhine and Necker, and at another (that is, in the Reign of Theodosius the younger) extending themselves on the German Side of the Rhine, from Cologne down to Nimigben, and still lower. What is known therefore of the Governments of the antient Germans, either from Tacitus, or any other good Authority, may be properly apply'd to their Government, whilst they continued in Germany, and even after they settled in Gaul, till such Times as

we find, by Relations more modern, that a different Form of Government prevail'd amongst them. Now it seems to me extremely plain that a different Form of Government did prevail amongst them even from the Time of Clovis, the Conqueror of Gaul. In his first Expedition, indeed, he was the Head of a Troop of Adventurers, who chose him to lead them, but made their Conditions with him. The Franks therefore might be at this Time, in some Sense, all free, perfectly equal, and independent; but will it follow from hence that they continued to be so, in any Sense, after Clovis had founded their Monarchy; had destroy'd all their little Kings; united in one Body, and under his own Domination, all their little States, and changed the Form of their Government, by appointing Dukes, Earls, Vicars, and other Magistrates, to govern under him, according to the Model of Government in the latter Roman Empire? Certainly not.

The general Assemblies, that were held at first in the Month of March, and afterwards in the Month of May, were national Assemblies indeed; but not such as the antient Germans held; among whom the principal Men consulted and decided about the least, and the whole Body of the People about the greatest Affairs. In these Assemblies of the French the People had nothing to do, unless we reckon for something the Function of † following. In one Word, the People had not any Share in the supreme Power, either collectively or representatively, in the original Plan of the French Government. Whether they acquir'd any Share in this Power afterwards, let us enquire next. Mezeray pretends, and indeed the whole History of France vouches for him, that no Nation ever honour'd their Nobility so much as the French; amongst whom the Nobility was not only exempt from all Sorts of Impositions and Charges, but commanded absolutely all inferior Ranks, who were almost in a State of Servitude. How could it be otherwise, when the Nobility, and chief Magistrates, and the Clergy compos'd alone the national Councils, or Parliaments, and even exercised distributive Justice all over the Kingdom? Their Power increased, as that of the Kings of the first Race diminished. Charles Martel, indeed, who trusted to that Battle Ax, which gave him his Name, and to foreign Troops, laid aside the national Assemblies, neg'ected the Nobility, and misused even the Clergy, who damned him for it. But Pepin found it necessary to regain both, and attach them to his Interest, in order to mount the Throne. By attaching them, he attach'd the whole Nation to him. Childeric was deposed, and

\* De minoribus Principes, de majoribus omnes. Tacit. † Ils (that is the French) laisserent passer aux hauts Magistrats, les Ducs, les Comtes, et les Vicaires, le Droit de la Nation entiere; de sorte que le Commun n'eut plus d'autres Fonctions dans les Assemblées reelles, que d'y paroître pour les Acclamations, que l'Usage rendoit necessaires. Bouleauv. Mem. Hist.

and he chosen King in a general Assembly held at *Soissons*. These *Assemblies*, in his Time, in that of his Son *Charles the Great*, and so on, consisted of the *Nobility* and *Clergy* alone.

When the third Race of these Kings began in *Hugues Capet*, the *Lords* were so powerful in their *Estates*, and so independent in their *Governments*, that he was forced to come to a Kind of Composition with them. They became *Sovereigns*, each in his Territory, but held of the *Crown*, and acknowledg'd the King for the supreme Lord. There was scarce a *Town*, which had not a little *Sovereign*; scarce a *Castle* without some little *Tyrant*. The *Parliaments*, in these Ages, took several Turns; but still they consisted of *Princes*, great *Lords*, *Bishops*, and *Abbots*, who decided in them their Disputes with one another, and with the King. Such *Assemblies* as these, under the second and third Race, were the original Institutions, from whence the *Parliaments* of France have proceeded; so that we may safely affirm the *Parliaments* of France never gave the *People* any Share in the Government of that Kingdom.

The *Assemblies* of the three *Estates*, the *Nobility*, *Clergy*, and *Commons*, were invented first by *Philip le Bel*. They were entirely unknown before the Year 1301. The *People* had no Right to any such *Assemblies*; and when they were instituted, they were plainly designed for nothing less than the Good of the *People*. The *Commons* were added to these *Assemblies*, says *Pasquier*, against the antient Order, or Practice of France, for no other Reason than this, that the principal Burthen or Charge, was to fall upon them. This was the true Reason. Redress of Grievances had no

Part in the Schemes of that rapacious and profuse Prince, who was the Author of this Institution; and he that considers the Manner, in which these *Assemblies* were convened, the Powers they were suffer'd to exercise, the Subordination, in which the *Commons* particularly were kept, and the habitual, unavoidable Influence under which they lay, will be easily convinced that such *Assemblies* were fitted to do the Jobs, and sanctify the Iniquity of the Court, and nothing more. I conclude therefore, and upon sufficient Grounds, that even since the Establishment of these *Assemblies of the Estates*, in the Beginning of the 14th Century, the *People* of France have had no real Share in the Supreme Power of that Government, either Collectively or Representatively.

I might illustrate and prove what is here advanced by the Example of every *Assembly* of the *States* of France, of which we have any good Accounts, from the first in 1301, to the last that was held, as I remember, in 1614. But such a Deduction would carry us too far. I shall conclude therefore with this Observation, That the *Friends of Liberty*, who live under limited Monarchies, cannot be too careful to preserve their Constitution in Vigour, nor too fearful lest their Representatives should be so influenced as to neglect their Privileges, misapply their Powers, and depart from their Integrity; since these *Friends of Liberty* see that the greatest Masters of Tyranny have judg'd the Form without the Spirit of a free Government more favourable to their Schemes of Oppression, than all the Authority, that absolute Monarchy can give; and that they made an Innovation in the Form of their Government on this very Motive, and for this very Purpose. [To be continued.]

## Poetical ESSAYS.

*Wrote extempore by a Captain of a Ship upon his going to the Sun Tavern at Ratcliff, and left in a Note in the Key-hole of his Door in Expectation of an Exciseman's coming to visit him who was reputed a sober frugal Man; and intended as a Jeer on his Frugality and Employment.*

AT the sign of the sun,  
As sure as a gun,  
You'll find us inspir'd with port;  
Without children or wives,  
To ruffle our lives,  
And free from dependence at court.  
Thus by freedom and wine,  
Like suns we all shine,

And when you shall our footsteps have trod;  
With each gen'rous soul,  
Your fame we'll enrol,  
And adopt you the son of our god. E.C.

*The Exciseman's Answer.*

NOR the charms of your wife,  
Nor your sun in a sign,  
I value so much as my gold:  
My children and wife,  
Are the joys of my life;  
And a drunkard I hate as a scold.  
In honesty's cause,  
And just excise laws,  
I spend my days chearful and merry;  
From each honest mind  
Acceptance I find,  
And I laugh at the wonders of story.



To a young Lady, on her going out of Mourning into Colours.

WHILE fable weeds, and mournful sighs  
express  
The weighty grief that labour'd in your breast;  
What heart so hard but melted at your woe?  
What eyes were dry when yours with tears  
did flow?

The weeping world in sympathy declar'd,  
How much your sorrows, and your pains it  
shar'd.

But heaven at length, in pity to our grief,  
Has chang'd the scene, and giv'n the wish'd  
relief.

Reason again assumes her awful sway,  
And every passion does her pow'r obey.  
No more the rising sigh or falling tear  
Heave in the breast, or in the face appear;  
But all serene, and bright, as opening day,  
You lovely smile, and all mankind is gay.

No gloomy damps of heaviness and care,  
Can reach our hearts, now you inhabit there,  
With every winning grace and pleasing air.

But see the nymph in various colours shine,  
Her look, her dress, her manner, all divine;  
See every charm its well known place resume,  
And every beauty springing in its bloom.  
See in her cheeks the lilly and the rose,  
The fairest white, and purest red disclose.  
See brighter suns rekindle in her eye,  
And smiling Cupids round her bosom fly.  
The nymph more lovely from her sorrow shines;  
As scorching fire the precious ore refines.

On all she does — in every garb she wears,  
Each charm attends unbid, each grace appears.  
If rob'd in green — her air and looks express  
A sea-born *Venus*, in her native dress.  
Nor less she charms, when round her beaute-  
ous waste

Flows the deep purple, or the yellow vest.  
Each dress each colour equally impart  
Joy to the eye, and transport to the heart.  
A thousand beauties in their turn succeed,  
For which again a thousand hearts must bleed.

Best of thy sex, that verse shall e'er express,  
Thine be each silken luxury of dress:  
To pay their homage, let both *Indies* meet  
And lay their brightest treasures at your feet.  
Let every clime be rack'd, and distant shore  
To grace thy toylet and enrich thy store.

Not that thyself can any worth receive  
From all the ornaments that art can give:  
In thy own native innocence array'd,  
Securely thou may'st scorn the borrow'd aid  
Of glittering silks, soft damask, rich brocade.  
Let meaner beauties prize such helps of art  
That only strike the eye, not touch the heart:  
Be gawdy shew and tinsel dress their care  
Whose chief perfection is, that they are fair.

But tho' the muse, bright nymph, may  
haply trace

Each air, each feature of thy shape and face;  
May different shades and various lights express,  
With all the gay variety of dress;

' Yet, who the beauties of thy mind shall paint?  
' Or who describe, where all description's faint?

In *Cowley's* verse the fair *Orinda* shines,  
And *Sacharissa* lives in *Waller's* lines:  
The nut-brown maid still in her bloom appears,  
Tho' since her youth have roll'd three hundred  
years.

Oh were my verse with equal genius blest,  
Would *Pæbus* tune my voice, and warm my  
breast;

Would every muse and every grace conspire  
To swell the note, and animate the lyre;  
To all the world the raptur'd song shou'd tell  
How you the brightest of your sex excel;  
You then shou'd shine, the one distinguish'd  
flame,

And, as in merit, be the first in fame.

To Mr. James Dalacourt in Ireland, upon his  
Prospect of Poetry.

HAIL gently-warbling *Dalacourt*, whose  
fame

Spurning *Hibernia's* solitary coast,  
Where small rewards attend the tuneful throng,  
Pervades *Britannia's* well-discerning isle;  
In spite of all the gloomy-minded tribe  
That would eclipse thy merit — shall the muse  
High soaring o'er the tall *Parnassian* mount,  
With spreading pinions, sing thy wondrous  
praise,

In strains attun'd to the seraphic lyre,  
Sing unappall'd, tho' mighty be the theme?  
O cou'd she in thy own harmonious strain  
Where softest numbers smoothly-flowing glide  
In trickling cadence; where the milky maze  
Devolves in silence; by the harsher sound  
Of hoarser periods still unruff'd, cou'd  
Her lines but like thine own *Euphrates* \* flow?  
Then might she sing in numbers worthy thee.  
But what can language do, when fancy finds  
Herself unequal to the lovely task?

Can feeble words thy vivid colours paint,  
Or show the sweets which inexhaustive flow?

Harken ye woods, and long-resounding  
groves,

Listen ye streams soft purling thro' the meads,  
And hymning horrid, all ye tempests roar;  
Awake ye woodlands, sing ye warbling larks  
In wildly-luscious notes; but most of all  
Attend ye grateful fair, attend the youth  
Who sweetly sings of nature and of you:  
From you alone his conscious breast expects  
Its soft rewards, by sordid love of gain  
Unbias'd, undebas'd; to meaner Minds  
Belong such narrow views; his nobler soul  
Transported with a gen'rous thirst of fame,

\* He has describ'd that River in the Prospect of Poetry.

Sublimely rises with expanded wings,  
And thro' the lucid Empyrean soars.  
So the young eagle wings its rapid way  
Thro' heav'n's broad azure; sometimes springs  
aloft,

Now drops, now cleaves with even-waving  
wings

The yielding air, nor seas nor mountains stop  
Its flight impetuous, gazing at the sun  
With irretorted eyes, whilst he pervades  
A trackless void, and unexplor'd before.

Long had the curious trav'ler strove to find  
The ruins of aspiring *Babylon*  
In vain — for nought the nicest eye could trace,  
Save one wide watry undistinguish'd waste:  
But you with more than magic art have rais'd  
*Semiramis's* city from its grave;  
You have revers'd the scripture curse, which  
said,

Dragons shall here inhabit; in your page  
We view the rising spires, the hurried eye  
Distracted wanders thro' the verdant maze;  
In middle air the pendent gardens hang,  
Tremendous cieiing — whilst no solar beam  
Falls on the lengthen'd gloom beneath; the  
woods

Project above a sleep-alluring shade;  
The finish'd garden opens to the view  
Wide-stretching vista's, whilst the whispering  
wind

Dimples along the breezy-ruffled lake.  
Now ev'ry tree irregular, and bush  
Are prodigal of harmony; the birds  
Frequent th' aerial woods, and nature blushes  
Asham'd to find herself outdone by art:  
These and a thousand beauties cou'd I sing,  
Collecting like the ever-toiling bee  
From yonder mingled wilderness of flowers  
The aromattick sweets: while you, great youth,  
O'er thy decaying country chief preside;  
Be thou her genius call'd, inspire her youth  
With noble emulation to arrive

At *Helicon's* fair font, which few, alas!  
Save you, have tasted, of *Hibernian* youth.  
Thy country, tho' corrupted, brought thee forth  
And deems her greatest ornament; and now  
Regards thee as her brightest northern star.  
Long may you reign as such, and shou'd grim  
time

With iron teeth deprive us of our *Pope*,  
Then we'll transplant thy blooming laurels  
fresh

From your bleak shore to *Albion's* happier coast.

J. THOMPSON.

ODE for his Majesty's BIRTH-DAY. By  
the Rev. Matthew Pilkington, A. M.

#### RECITATIVO.

GREAT, inexhausted source of day,  
Bright parent of the genial ray,  
Unfold thy purest beams of light,  
And bring with thee, enliv'ning pow'r!  
Each silver-wing'd, each blissful hour,  
Joy-creating, rob'd in white.

#### A I R.

Like thee *AUGUSTUS* reigns below,  
From him diffusive blessings flow,  
And, cloath'd with grandeur, glory, love,  
He emulates thy reign above.

DA CAPO.

#### A I R.

'Wake the soul-enchancing lute,  
The warbling lyre, the breathing flute,  
And touch the violin to sound:  
With joy let every voice proclaim  
*GEORGE*, the fav'rite son of fame,  
With all exalted virtues crown'd.  
Sacred wisdom, heav'nly guest!  
And justice, attribute divine!  
Fix their empire in his breast,  
And bid the finish'd hero shine:  
Who gives a lustre to the throne,  
And makes his people's joy his own.

DA CAPO.

#### RECITATIVO.

This day be sacred o'er the earth,  
The day that gave *AUGUSTUS* birth;  
For he abundant wealth supplies,  
And bids neglected merit rise.

DA CAPO.

#### A I R.

Plenty, dress'd in smiles appears,  
And learning, beauteous child of peace,  
Her heav'nly form, delighted rears,  
And pleasure sports in ev'ry face:  
Those blessings which unceasing flow  
From his indulgent bounteous hand,  
Let proud oppressing tyrants know  
To bless, is nobler than command.

DA CAPO.

#### RECITATIVO.

What muse can in a glorious light,  
His early excellence display;  
When, cloath'd with terrors, through the fight  
He spread confusion and dismay!

#### A I R.

See! fir'd with ardour to engage,  
The *British* *AMMON* pours along,  
With an impetuous torrent's rage,  
And pierces through the thickest throng!  
Slaughter wastes at his command,  
And thousands sink beneath his hand;  
The combat bleeds where-e'er he goes,  
And wide the purple deluge flows.

DA CAPO.

#### RECITATIVO.

While through the vanquish'd host,  
By his intrepid valour lost,  
Amazement, terror, discord fly,  
And fear, with oft-reverted eye.

#### A I R.

Goddeſs, glory, haste, prepare  
The golden wreath for *GEORGE's* brow,  
*GEORGE*, more worthy of thy care,  
Than all that nature form'd till now,  
Tho' *BRUNSWICK's* and a *NASSAU's* name  
Have fill'd the loudest voice of fame.

DA CAPO.  
A I R.



A I R.

Ye ever-watchful guardian pow'rs  
Propitious round AUGUSTUS wait,  
Bid the smiling, circling hours,  
Waft new glories to his state;  
On him let every blessing flow,  
That man can hope, or heav'n bestow.

DA CAPO.

RECITATIVO.

Heav'n to grace his throne inclin'd,  
Created, with exactest care,  
CAROLINE, surpassing fair,  
And stamp'd perfection on her mind.

A I R.

Worthy over hearts to reign,  
Beauty's hand thy person dress'd,  
The Graces too, a blooming train,  
In ev'ry feature smile confess'd;  
Ev'ry charm, and gift divine,  
Lives in gracious CAROLINE.

DA CAPO.

CHORUS.

We ask no more, propitious fate!  
Peculiar blessings for our state,  
That plenty, wealth, and peace may smile,  
And pour abundance o'er our isle:  
But hear, O! hear *Hibernia's* pray'r,  
Preserve and guard the royal pair;  
In that kind heav'n will give us more  
Of glory, grandeur, wealth, and fame,  
Than e'er adorn'd *Britannia's* name,  
Or ever bless'd the world before.

To Sir Thomas Cave, Bart. Upon the Death  
of his Brother Sir Verney Cave, late of  
Stanford in Leicestershire. By the Rev.  
Mr. Nixon.

Tu Marcellus eris Virg.

ACCEPT (dear Sir) the muse's pious woe,  
Tears by sincerest sorrow taught to flow;  
The dictates of a faithful heart, that bleeds  
For *Verney's* loss, altho' my friend succeeds.  
Lamented shade! Lamented, but in vain!  
Who this mysterious problem shall explain,  
That heav'n should such superior gifts supply,  
Yet length of days for exercise deny?  
That a bright wit, and a capacious mind  
Enrich'd by nature, and by art refin'd,  
E'er reach'd the noon of life, extinct should  
leave  
A brother, and a thousand friends to grieve!  
So in yon' azure fields of light above  
Stars most benign in shortest circles move.  
The \*planet, friend of arts, with speedy  
pace  
Too soon accelerates his destin'd race  
Pregnant of ills, while *Saturn's* baleful sphere  
Thro' a long lingering period rolls his tedious  
year.  
But we (my friend) these depths in vain explore,  
Our province not to question, but adore.

\*Mercury.

Your mighty loss no pow'rs can e'er retrieve,  
Ours may from you a lenitive receive.  
Think, when around your large demesns you  
view,

With them enlarg'd your scheme of duties too.  
Grateful to heav'n, repay with bounteous hand  
All that the social ties of life demand.  
From the bright acts of your forefathers, know,  
What to your country's public weal you owe.  
Merit unask'd regard, th' oppress'd defend,  
'To virtue only, and her friends, a friend;  
Deep in your breast this weighty truth engrave,  
A noble mind, not fortune, makes a CAVE.

True Pleasure always to be found.

HE that from pomp, and wealth, and be-  
nour flies,  
May look on nature with undazzled eyes:  
Read truth's eternal laws, and with delight  
Count all the plants by day and stars by night.  
It needs no toil to find the way to bliss:  
Who makes content his guide can never miss:  
No envious walls this flow'r of life embrace,  
All wild it grows in ev'ry desert place.  
A glut of pleasure drowns us like a flood,  
And evil by excess proceeds from good!  
Learn you, that climb the top of fortune's wheel,  
The dang'rous state which you disdain to feel!  
Your highness puts your happiness to flight,  
Your inward comfort fades with outward light:  
While not a wretch, that sweats behind the  
plough,

But sleeps securer from the reach of woe!  
You live like captives, bound with golden  
chains, [pains,  
The weight and splendor but increase your  
You strive to shut out care, but still the care  
remains.

While mild philosophy pursues its ends  
With ease and happiness; alone, with friends,  
In exercise, or study still has pow'r  
To vary joys; as time renews the hour:  
Early as Phosphor shows his welcome ray,  
It starts from sleep, and gains upon the day:  
Like the glad Persian hails the rising sun  
Makes industry point out the shade at noon;  
And, when his flaming orb at eve declines  
Measures the starry vault with fancy'd lines;  
Invokes the heav'n-born muse from fame's  
abode

To waft the soul on fancy's wing abroad,  
And rise from nature, up to nature's God.—  
But, if these prospects spread too broad and  
high,

For the short limit of a vulgar eye;  
Let such, to earth, their bumbler views confine,  
And learn a sample of the whole design.  
A bed of flowers, a grove, a level plain,  
A rugged hill, a field of golden grain;  
A swelling river more true pleasure brings,  
Than pomp can furnish in the courts of kings.

*An Epigram on two great Men, written in 1725.*

**T**WO genius's one age and nation grace:  
Pride of our isles, and boast of human  
race! [born!  
Great sage! great bard! supreme in knowledge  
The world to mend, enlighten, and adorn!  
Truth on Cimmerian darkness pours the day!  
Wit drives in smiles the gloom of minds away!  
Ye kindred suns on high, ye glorious spheres,  
Whom have ye seen in twice three thousand  
years, [birth;  
Whom have ye seen, like these, of mortal  
Tho' Archimede and Horace blest the earth?  
Barbarians, from th' equator to the poles!  
Hark! reason calls! wisdom awakes your souls!  
Ye regions ignorant of Walpole's name;  
Ye climes, where kings shall ne'er extend  
their fame: [fac'd,  
Where men miscall'd, God's image have de-  
Their form bely'd, and human shape disgrac'd!  
Ye two-leg'd wolves! slaves! superstitious sons!  
Lords! soldiers! holy Vandals! modern Huns!  
Boors! musties! monks! in Russia, Turkey,  
Spain! [the DEAN?  
— Who does not know Sir ISAAC, and

**CUPID** better instructed: *A Copy of ingenious Latin Verses in the Epithal. Oxoniens. upon the late Royal Marriage, by Mr. Wm. Gibson, (my Lord of London's younger Son) of Christ-Church in Oxford; translated, enpassant: By a Servant.*

**C**UPID, full wing, once flew against the gate

(It's fabled) of the dismal grot of fate,  
Quiver revers'd, his arrows, rustling down,  
Blended with Dis's, lay confus'dly thrown.  
Cropping, in haste, to recollect, beneath,  
His kinder shafts, he got the darts of death.

With these the archer blind rebaits, just then  
As prince Nassau approach'd the princess Anne.  
Rueful mistake! which love shou'd not have  
drawn,

He struck the chief with weapons not his own.  
Venus, with dist'ny, bath'd the grief begun,  
The blunder hush'd, then disciplin'd her son.

*What bolts? whose blood is here? observe me now;*

Go, tune him to the music of thy bow.  
The golden arrow, from the silver string,  
Sooths any sore, and sweetens ev'ry sting;  
Sings well, and is diversion for a king.  
Inspire an even passion, equal pain:  
Nassau's for her, and Anne for him again.  
To grace the nuptials, all thy charms employ;  
Nor cloud, nor consequence, o'ercast the joy.  
May a blest harmony subsist between,  
To their delight, and glory of our queen.

Mars begs it, guardian of Nassau's great name;  
And Venus, good to Anne, commands the same.

*The Moral, in Hudibrastic; by the Translator.*

**L**OVE, like young beaumen in the east,  
Must tip an Orange first, or last.  
No man eats idle bread, for nought,  
But be that's better fed than taught.  
Our Cupid, now, has learnt more wit:  
For they shoot wide, who never hit;  
A courtier grows, and, for his crimes,  
Your pardon, Sir, craves twenty times.  
Maturely weighs each arrow-head;  
Knows what is what, and gold from lead.  
Nor cross, nor pile, has lately squander'd;  
Nor aims below the royal standard.  
Bends up for nought, in aulic wars,  
But sun, and moon, and seven stars:  
Yet only twangs his yew of Spain,  
Where men are infants till past men.  
An orient star led, thro' his blind-  
Side, to a prize his eye of mind:  
The lightning said, its he; in spite  
Of fate, two wrongs infer one right.  
Let fly; well shot! thanks to my spark;  
A blind boy, once, has cleft the mark.  
The upshot wins all Englishmen,  
Or love shall ne'er draw bow again.

*The following is the Copy of a poetical Epistle from an ingenious Lady in the West-Indies to her Lover. It was directed thus:*

A Letter to my Love--All alone past 12, in the Dumps.

*Absent from all that cou'd inspire  
My Numbers, or my Soul, with Fire.*

**O**H! weep with me the changing scene  
Torn from thy arms, devour'd with spleen;  
Instead of those dear eyes, I look  
Upon the fire, or else a book;  
But oh! how dull must either be  
To eyes that have been studying thee!  
Unless the poet does express  
Something that strikes my tenderness,  
I throw the leaves neglected by,  
And in my chair supinely lie;  
Or to the pen and ink I haste,  
And there a world of paper waste.  
All I can write, tho' love is here,  
Does much unlike my soul appear.  
Angry, the scrawling side I turn,  
I write, and blot, and write and burn.  
Then to the bottle I repair,  
The poets tell us ease is there.  
But I thy absent hand repine,  
Whose sweetness us'd to zest the wine:  
Wine in this sullen moment fails,  
I burn my pen, I bite my nails,  
Rail at my stars, nay I accuse  
Even my lover, and my muse.  
Why did he let me go, I cry,  
— And now I think on't, tell me why!

Yon



You might have kind excuses made  
To one so willing to have staid;  
The night was rainy, and the wind  
To all thy softest wishes kind.  
For thee and love methought it blew  
As if my parting pangs it knew,  
As if it was a lover too.  
I'm safely shelter'd from its pow'r;  
But I regard its rage no more:  
Now let it tempest as it please,  
Or move the groves, or fright the seas;  
It cannot now alarm my rest,  
Unless it reach thy dearer breast.

Oh! hasten to me, let my arms  
Protect thee from the wintry storms.  
I tremble lest the cold should dare  
To pierce thee——set my image there,  
Defend it, if it has a charm,  
From these, and every other harm.  
I want thy bosom to repose  
My beating heart, oppress'd with woes.  
I want thy voice my soul to cheer,  
Thy voice is musick to my ear;  
I want thy dear lov'd hand to press  
My neck, with silent tenderness;  
I want thy eyes to make mine bright,  
And charm this fullen hour of night;  
This hour, when pallid ghosts appear,  
Oh! cou'd it bring thy shadow here!  
I ev'ry substance wou'd resign,  
To clasp thy aerial breast to mine;  
Or if, my love, that could not be,  
I wou'd turn air to mix with thee.

On the Death of Miss B——W——th.

*Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus  
Tam chari capitis?* Hor. lib. 1. Ode 24.

SHE'S gone, she's gone —— I saw her  
mount the sky,  
And with new whiteness paint the galaxy.  
Too happy had I been indeed, if fate  
Had made her lasting as she made her great.  
But 'twas the plot of unkind destiny  
To lift me to, then snatch me from my joy.  
Methought I saw in crowds blest spirits meet,  
And with loud welcomes her arrival greet.  
Earth was unworthy such a prize as this,  
Only a while heav'n let us share the bliss.  
Thanks ye kind fates! whodid so long dispen-  
(Since you so wish'd it) with her absence thence.  
Scarce had she learnt to list religion's name,  
But taught her cradle like the pulpit to reclaim.  
Thy praise shall live, when graves shall bu-  
ried lie,  
And yield its tripple empire to eternity.  
Thy mighty virtues shall embalm thy name,  
And make it lasting as the breath of fame.  
O that I could distill my vital juice in tears!  
Or waste away my soul in sobbing airs!  
For such a loss what stoic could forbear  
To fetch a sigh, or drop a silent tear?  
Methinks, I see her in the blest abode  
With hymn ecstatic singing praise to God,

Sorrow and pain shall now be far away,  
Claspt in the embraces of thy native clay,  
Till the last trump shall bid thee rise,  
Then cloath'd with glory thou'lt ascend the  
skies.

Beauty we find a vain and doubtful good,  
A flower that dies when first it 'gins to bud.

H.

Upon Miss WINNY J——N——N.

O Hogarth, thee th' admiring town  
Britain's Apelles justly own;  
For thy great strokes with nature strive,  
And bid the glowing canvas live;  
So artfully they cheat the eye,  
We speak and wait for a reply.  
O Hogarth, pictur'd by thy care,  
While I have seen the beaut'ous fair,  
While I have view'd each mimic charm,  
I've felt my swelling bosom warm,  
Kindle with pleasing am'rous fires,  
And glowing, melt with soft desires.  
Delusion sweet! thy matchless art  
Is nature's self; it wounds the heart.

Once in his fancy's highest flow,  
Apelles, his great art to show,  
Resolv'd his finest strokes to try,  
And nature's choicest works out-vie;  
From ev'ry fair a charm he stole,  
And nicely blending up the whole,  
He bid the heav'nly image prove  
The queen of beauty and of love.

Hogarth, like his great master too,  
Designing nature to outdo,  
His highest proof of art to give,  
And bid another Venus live,  
To draw his piece he took his way,  
Where b'les o'er elemental tea,  
In am'rous prattle waste the day:  
Among the rest was Winny plac'd,  
With all the charms united grac'd:  
Hogarth with wonder view'd the maid;  
Thrice he in vain to speak essay'd,  
Its office thrice his tongue forsook:  
——At length in fault'ring words he spoke—  
'Tis she——Venus has left the skies,  
And there she sits in sweet disguise;  
How vain, how vain is our design,  
When we'd attempt at what's divine?  
Each smiling, told him the deceit,  
That J——nson was the pretty cheat.  
Still then, cries he, my project's vain,  
I'll ne'er of nature's works complain,  
In J——nson they'll triumphant reign.

W. R.

THE MISER.

VILE wretch! who sacrifices all to wealth,  
His honour, conscience, and his future  
health.  
His heart is always with his glitt'ring ore,  
And heaven-born charity can charm no more:  
The tender thoughts which humane bosoms fill,  
In him are chang'd to cruel, base and ill.

Con-

Conjugal and paternal love give way  
To love of gold, which bears the only sway.  
The thoughts of getting more distract his  
breast,

And care of keeping it allows no rest;  
Distrust and fear possess by turns his mind,  
Expert in fraud, to ev'ry virtue blind:  
To get more pelf no ways to him are foul,  
He cares not if for gold he damns his soul.  
His hapless children curse the fatal day,  
When nature gave to him a father's sway.  
Distressing all he knows, himself distressed,  
An evil conscience wrecks his guilty breast;  
Afraid to touch his basely gotten store,  
Spends nothing, but is always scraping more.  
In midst of all his plenty always wants;  
Famine his roof with meagre aspect haunts.  
So avaritious *Midas*, fables say,  
Amidst his royal dainties pin'd away.  
Strange! that the bowels of the generous earth  
Should bring such a destructive metal forth.  
What mischiefs has it done in every land!  
Made virtue suffer, and made vice command.  
But stranger still! man's soul with reason grac'd,  
By fard love of wealth should be debas'd.

E.

*On the Death of a young Lady.*

**S**INCE *Cælia's* gone, what pleasure is  
there left?

Our hearts of every comfort are bereft.  
All breasts are full of sighs, all eyes of tears;  
The plain a savage wilderness appears.  
Our late, lov'd shepherdess is fled away,  
And turn'd to darksome night the cheerful day.  
The fields look bare now *Cælia's* gone on high;  
The flowers in all their blooming colours die;  
The woods in horrid silence are all round,  
No leaf will stir, no soothing gale is found.  
The warbling throng to happier climes are fled,  
Nor deign one note since charming *Cælia's* dead.  
All nature seems, in fable hue array'd,  
To mourn the loss of the fair virtuous maid.

E.

*On Miss Fanny Phillips. Spoken extempore.*

**B**eauteous charmer, lovely fair,  
Transporting all thou dost come near.  
In thee we see all charms combine,  
In thee all love's perfections shine.  
Sure nature robb'd the *Graces* three  
Of all their beauteous charms, for thee.  
For ever pleasing, ever dear,  
Thrice fairer than the fairest fair:  
Thy matchless beauty, lovely frame,  
An *Addison* or *Pope* might claim;  
Were *Dryden* now alive, he'd chuse  
Thee, a fit subject for his muse.  
Ecstatic fair! transcendent charms!  
Ye gods! convey her to my arms.

*SPAIN.*

**W**HERE foaming surges of *Cantabria*  
rise,  
And *Pyrænean* mountains pierce the skies,

With these surrounded blest'd luxurious *Spain*  
Extends her fruitful, healthful wide domain.

Happily situate thy fields produce  
Objects not only for the taste but use.  
Down in each silent, verdant valley rove  
Of over-burthen'd sheep a num'rous drove,  
That drop their woolly honours on the road,  
And seem to labour with the fleecy load.  
When yon' high mountain's lofty hills of snow,  
Cloath'd with their wool, we feel no cold below.  
'Tis not this wool demands *Corinna's* lays,  
Another wool's the subject of her praise,  
A wool that brings false youth when youth  
decays.

With this (tho' age has made her skull a plain  
Barren, and unadorn'd; tho' many a train  
Of wrinkles, like *Mæanders*, run around  
Her visage; and the following eye confound)  
She fills the furrows of her leathern face,  
And smiles resistless with a borrow'd grace.  
By this, sh' attracts the looby country squire,  
Who on a sudden feels the ardent fire;  
He fastens on the mortar'd wall his eyes,  
And silent for a plaister'd *Thibbe* dies.

Here too, the parents of *Gallæcian* wines  
That seem to court the hand, full swel-  
ling vines [twines.]

Embrace their husband elms in am'rous

These, with thy other gifts I cou'd rehearse  
That well demand a place in epic verse;  
But oh, *Hispania*, how could I applaud,  
Were but thy people, as their country good!

But just as *Israel*, led by the command  
Of *Amram's* son, thro' deserts, to a land  
Flowing with milk and honey, soon forgot  
The high uplifted hand that brought them out;  
So these are senseless of the hand of heav'n,  
Which all these blessings so profuse has giv'n.

Those various scenes of shameful lawless love,  
Open, bare-fac'd, and which the laws approve;  
The pride of that grave supercilious pace,  
Which gives to light'ning, storms, nor thun-  
der place;

That cursed seat where Satan holds his reign,  
The holy inquisition term'd in *Spain*;  
All these I draw a veil of darkness o'er:  
But that deep, settled thirst of *British* gore,  
That blot indelible, that lasting stain,  
Which *British* annals uneras'd retain,  
In *British* hearts for ever will remain  
Methinks I see the proud *Armado's* ride  
In swelling triumph o'er the lab'ring tide,  
Gay, deckt with streamers floating in the air,  
Full of success, and of an easy war,  
Stretch'd out from sky to sky, it ploughs the main  
Exulting — Never to return again  
Invincible *Armado!* — strangely out  
Was old infallible — that made no doubt  
Of conquest — to that pow'r supreme all hail,  
Who made for once his holy prescience fail.  
For now th' Eternal bar'd his mighty arm,  
Determin'd to dispel th' approaching storm:  
And scarce a few revolving hours had past,  
When all that cumb'rous glory was laid waste.



The kind'd vengeance by his guidance led,  
Steer'd strait; and all around destruction spread.  
To all the fleet the fierce contagion came,  
Till all appear'd one undistinguish'd flame.

P—p be wise in time; and cease to dare,  
And rouse the masters of the main to war;  
Avenging justice frequent pauses makes,  
But always with a ten-fold fury wakes.

*A Paraphrase on the cxxxixth Psalm.*

O! Dread *Jehovah*, thy all-piercing eyes  
Explore the motions of this mortal frame,  
This tenement of dust; thy stretching sight  
Surveys the harmonious principles, that move  
In beauteous rank and order, to inform  
This cask and animated mass of clay.  
Nor are the prospects of thy wondrous sight  
To this terrestrial part of man confin'd;  
But shoot into his soul, and there discern  
The first materials of unfinish'd thought,  
Yet dim and indigested, till the mind,  
Big with the tender images, expands,  
And swelling labours with th' ideal birth.

Where-e'er I move, thy cares pursue my feet,  
Attendant; when I drink the dews of sleep,  
Stretch'd on my downy bed, and there enjoy  
A sweet forgetfulness of all my toils,  
Unseen thy sovereign presence guards my sleep,  
Waits all the terrors of my dreams away,  
Sooths all my soul, and softens my repose.

Before conception can employ the tongue,  
And mould the ductile images to sound,  
Before imagination stands display'd,  
Thine eye the future eloquence can read,  
Yet unarray'd with speech. Thou, mighty Lord,  
Hast moulded man from his congenial dust,  
And spoke him into being; while the clay,  
Beneath thy forming hand, leap'd forth inspir'd,  
And started into life; thro' ev'ry part,  
At thy command the wheels of motion play'd.  
But such exalted knowledge leaves below  
And drops poor man from its superior sphere;  
In vain with reason's ballast wou'd he try  
To stem the unfathomable depth; his bark  
O'ersets, and founders in the vast abyss.

Then whither shall the rapid fancy run,  
Tho' in its full career, to speed my flight  
From thy unbounded presence, which alone  
Fills all the regions and extended space,  
Beyond the bounds of nature! whither, Lord,  
Shall my unrein'd imagination rove,  
To leave behind thy spirit, and out-fly  
Its influence, which with brooding wings out-  
spread,

Hatch'd unledg'd nature from the dark pro-  
f mount on my tow'ring thoughts I climb  
Into the heaven of heavens, I there behold  
The blaze of thy unclouded majesty,  
In the pure empyrean, thee I view  
High thron'd above all height; thy radiant  
shrine,  
Throng'd with the prostrate seraphs, who re-

Beatitude past utterance. If I plunge  
Down to the gloomy mansions of the damn'd,  
I find thee there, and read thee in the scenes  
Of complicated wrath; I see thee clad  
In all the majesty of darkness there.

If on the ruddy morning's purple wings  
Up born, with indefatigable course,  
I seek the glowing borders of the east,  
Where the bright sun emergent from the deep  
With his first glories gilds the sparkling seas,  
And trembles o'er the waves; even there, thy  
hand

Shall thro' the watry desert guide my course,  
And o'er the broken surges pave my way;  
While on the dreadful whirls I hang secure,  
And mock the warring ocean. If with hopes  
As fond as false the darkness I expect  
To hide and wrap me in its mantling shade,  
Vain was the thought: for thy unbounded  
ken

Darts thro' the thick'ning gloom, and prys  
thro' all

The palpable obscure: before thy eyes  
The vanquish'd night throws off her dusky  
shroud,

And kindles into day; the shade and light  
To man still various, but the same to thee.

On thee is all the structure of my frame  
Dependent: lock'd within the silent womb,  
Sleeping I lay, and ripening into birth;  
Yet, Lord! thy outstretch'd arm preserv'd me  
there,

Before I mov'd to entity and trod  
The verge of being; to thy hallow'd name  
I'll pay due honours; for thy mighty hand  
Built this corporeal fabrick, when it laid  
The ground-work of existence; hence I read  
The wonders of thy art, this frame I view  
With terror and delight, and wrap't in both  
I startle at myself: my bones uniform'd  
As yet, nor hard'ning from the viscous parts,  
But blended with th' unanimated mass,  
Thy eye distinctly view'd; and while I lay  
Within the earth imperfect, nor perceiv'd  
The first faint dawn of life, with ease survey'd  
The vital glimmerings of the active seed,  
Just kindling to existence, and beheld  
My substance scarce material; in thy book  
Was the fair model of the structure drawn,  
Where every part in just connection join'd  
Compos'd and perfected the harmonious piece,  
E'er the dim speck of being learn'd to stretch  
Its ductile form, or entity had known  
To range and wanton in an ample space.

How dear and rooted in my inmost soul  
Are all thy counsels, and the various ways  
Of thy eternal providence! the sum  
So boundless and immense, it leaves behind  
The low account of numbers, and out flies  
All that imagination e'er conceiv'd! [shores,  
Less numerous all the sands that croud the  
The barrier of the ocean! When I rise  
From my soft bed, and softer joys of sleep,

604 Poetical ESSAYS in NOVEMBER, 1734.

I rise to thee. Yet lo! the impious slight  
Thy mighty wonders: shall the sons of vice  
Elude the vengeance of thy wrathful hand,  
And mock thy ling'ring thunder, which with-

holds  
Its forked terrors from their guilty heads?  
Thou great tremendous God! Avaunt and fly,  
All ye who thirst for blood; for swoln with  
pride

[name,  
Each haughty wretch blasphemes thy sacred  
And bellows his reproaches, to affront  
Thy glorious Majesty: thy foes I hate  
Worse than my own. O Lord! explore my soul,  
See if a flaw or stain of sin infects  
My guilty thoughts; then lead me in the way,  
That guides my feet to thy own heaven and thee.

Dr. Barrow's Latin Poem prefix'd to Milton's  
Paradise Lost, translated by the Author of  
the 7th Ode of the 1st Book of Horace  
imitated. (See p. 549.)

WHO reads great Milton's lofty epic  
verse,

Of thoughts refin'd an unexhausted source,  
Views the crude embryo world from atoms rise,  
Man's fall, and God's pacifick grace descries.  
A Milton's genius each recess displays, [maze;  
Scans nature's breast, explores each wand'ring  
Earth, sea, and heaven he sings sublimely clear,  
And hell's deep tract replete with solemn fear;  
Earth's sons, old ocean's scaly offspring bright,  
Seraphic orders, and eternal night;  
What circumscrib'd in stablsh'd limits stood,  
A chaos boundless, and a boundless God.  
Or more, if ought can more than boundless be,  
Messiah's love, the reconcil'd degree.  
Who cou'd but doubt a work wou'd thus succeed?  
Which Albion's sons with joy ecstatic read,  
What matchless chiefs, each helm a daz'ling  
star!

How just he sings the odious din of war!  
Celestial ardor, heav'n in conflict dire!  
And martial exploits worthy heavenly ire!  
How Lucifer in arms æthereal flaunts!

As Michael's peer with haughty stride he  
vaunts;

[spears  
With how great force they clash the horrid  
Ev'n heav'n's star-pavement hostile squadrons  
sears,

[tear,  
Whilst vengeful troops the stubborn mountains  
And hills like darts divide the yielding air:  
Olympus views each army's doubted might  
With anxious dread of more embroiled fight,  
'Till the Messiah's glorious ensigns shone  
And arms coruscant spoke the obsequious son;  
When ruddy flames surround his rapid car  
And fervid wheels with forked light'ning glare,  
When smoaky wreaths in dusky circles fly,  
And thunder shakes the empyrean sky.  
Amaze and terror seize the rebel host [boast,  
Down drop the arms that long proclaim'd their  
A gloomy deep devoid of glimmering light,  
And ghastly shades retard their hasty flight.  
Antient and modern bards the palm resign,  
Whom Rome rever'd or Greece esteem'd divine;

For who reads this will with impartial tongue  
Say, Homer only frogs, and gnats sam'd Mars  
sung. E. C.

Epitaph on a very idle Fellow; from Cambden.

HERE lyeth one that was born and cry'd,  
Liv'd several years, and then --- be dy'd.

On a Statue of Julius Cæsar, represented lean-  
ing on a Globe, a Sword in one Hand, and  
a Book in the other, with the Motto, Ex  
utroq; Cæsar.

SUCH Cæsar was, -- with his majestick brow,  
Serene 'midst arms be met th' approaching foe:  
So when alive, as on the globe reclin'd,  
He sat superior, and survey'd mankind:  
As here, so once the victor's head was crown'd,  
And laurel wreaths his sacred temples bound:  
As here, so once o'er arts and arms he reign'd,  
One hand the book, and one the sword sustain'd,  
To shew his wisdom rul'd that world his va-  
lour gain'd.

A Rev. D--r's Lamentation for the Loss of  
his Hearing.

DEAF, giddy, belpless, left alone,  
To all my friends a burden grown;  
No more I hear my church's bell,  
Than if it rung for my own knell:  
At thunder now no more I start,  
Than at the rumbling of a cart;  
And what's incredible, alack!  
No more I hear a woman's clack.

On the Princess Royal at Harwich, and the  
Prince of Orange at Helvoetsluys.

ON distant sands, disjoin'd by envious seas,  
Two generous lovers wait the prosperous  
breeze.

Love once was wreck'd, and a Leander lost;  
Yet must the Hellespont again be cross'd.  
That Love then may o'er winds and tides prevail,  
Leander shall keep watch, and Hero sail.

To the KING.

WHAT age, O GEORGE, thy equal e'er  
could yield  
In the calm council or the hostile field?  
Brutus himself in thee a king would love,  
And wise Fabritius to thy court remove:  
E'en Cato stern, whose free-born God-like soul,  
Nor pow'r, nor fate, nor Cæsar cou'd controul,  
Wou'd now to thee a subject's duty give,  
Free in your Britain, as old Rome to live.

CUPID mistaken.

WHERE Chloe in the shady grove was laid,  
Thither by chance the wanton Cupid  
stray'd.

As he view'd the nymph, then cries in passion,  
Mamma, Mamma, you'll miss your assignation;  
For Mars is waiting -- Chloe rais'd her head,  
My pretty boy, sure you've mistook, she said.  
How like, cries he, may one be to another!  
For, as I live, I thought you was my mother.  
The





# The GENTLEMAN's Monthly Intelligencer.

NOVEMBER, 1734.



ADVICE from *Lewes* in *Suffex*, that on the 25th past, about 50 Minutes after Three in the Morning, they had two strong Shocks of an Earthquake there; the first lasted near a Minute, and on a general Calculation from all Informations, within 20 Miles along the Sea-Coast, it was felt at the same Time and in the same Manner. This is the same which was perceived at *Portsmouth*, and thro' most Parts of the County of *Southampton*. (See p. 551.)

Advice from *Colehill* in *Warwickshire*, that the Shock of the Earthquake which was felt at *Portsmouth* the 25th past, was felt there about Four the same Morning, and that it held near a Minute.

Letters from *Derby* mention'd an Earthquake felt there on the 28th past by many of the Inhabitants, and also in several of the neighbouring Places.

On the 30th past, *Tomo Chachi*, *Micho* or King of *Yamacraw*, and his Queen, *Senzauki*, *Toonakowi*, and the other Indian Chiefs, set out in one of the King's Coaches for *Gravesend*, where they arriv'd the same Day, and the next Day went on board the *Prince of Wales*, bound for *Georgia*. They express'd great Satisfaction at the Treatment they had met with in *England*, and at the Power and Greatness of the King and Nation. They were mighty desirous of returning to their own Country, and at the same Time shew'd a great deal of Tenderness at parting with Mr. *Oglethorpe*, who took Leave of them on board the Ship. The *Micho*, among other Things, said, That he would shew his Gratitude to the King of *England* for all the Favours he had received here, by loving and assisting the English People in *Georgia*. The Ship set sail a little after Midnight with a fair Wind. The *Saltzburghers* were on board the same Ship, as also some English Gentlemen, with foreign Servants, who intend to settle in *Georgia*. The Trustees en-

courage the People of *Georgia* to take Foreigners for Servants, since thereby the King's Subjects are increas'd, and no labouring Hands are taken from *England*.

FRIDAY, NOV. 1.

This Morning about seven o'Clock, her Royal Highness the Princess of *Orange* set out from *St. James's* for *Colchester*, and from thence proceeded the next Day to *Harwich*, to embark for *Holland*. She embark'd the *Wednesday* following, and sailed out of the Harbour; but was hardly got clear of the Land, when the Wind came about to the *East*, and a Calm succeeding, her Royal Highness order'd the Yachts to put back, and return'd to *Harwich*, where she staid several Days; in which Time the Prince of *Orange* sent one of the Lords of his Bed-Chamber thither, to attend her Royal Highness in her Voyage. Her Royal Highness gain'd the Affections of the Inhabitants of *Harwich* to a very great Degree. She caus'd the Mayor, Aldermen, and other Members of the Corporation to be entertain'd at the *Three Cups Inn*, where a Dinner consisting of fifty Dishes was provided for them. Her Royal Highness diverting herself in a Morning with walking into the neighbouring Fields, all the Stiles were taken away, and the Paths levell'd in the best Manner for her Accommodation.

THURSDAY, 7.

His Majesty in Council was pleas'd to order, that the Parliament which stood prorogued to the 14th Instant, should be further prorogued to the 14th of *January*, then to meet at *Westminster* for the Dispatch of Business; and his Majesty was pleas'd to order a Proclamation to be issued accordingly.

MONDAY, 11.

The redeem'd Captives from *Mequinez*, to the Number of 135 Persons, nine of whom were Commanders, were presented to his Majesty within the Garden-Wall belonging to *St. James's House*; his Majesty receiv'd them with great Marks of Tenderness and Compassion, asking the Chief of them several Questions,

# 606 *Domestick Occurrences in* NOVEMBER, 1734.

tions, and was graciously pleased to order a Donation of 100*l.* out of the Privy Purse, to be distributed among them: Several Lords and Ladies of the Court gave likewise ten and five Guineas a-piece. They were afterwards conducted to the Garden of the Admiralty-Office, to be view'd by the Lords Commissioners. One of the Captives presented Sir Charles Wager with a Letter from Admiral Perez, who was formerly here in a publick Character from the Emperor of *Fex* and *Morocco*: Sir Charles Wager gave a Bank Bill of 50*l.* to be distributed among them; they afterwards went to *Ironmongers-Hall*, where a handsome Dinner was prepar'd. Most of them being able Seamen, are determin'd to serve on board the Fleet.

TUESDAY, 12.

On a Motion made by Sir Gerard Conyers, and seconded by Sir Robert Baylis, the Court of Aldermen of this City made an Order, that a Reward of 50*l.* should be offer'd for the apprehending and bringing to Justice any Person or Persons, not exceeding ten in Number, who hiss'd, pelted, or any Way insulted Sir William Billers, Knt. late Lord Mayor, as he pass'd from *Black-Fryars* to *Fishmongers-Hall* on Lord Mayor's-Day: The Money to be paid by the Chamberlain of London on the Conviction of each of the Persons, provided such Person or Persons be apprehended within three Months.

In Opposition to the Article about the empty Houses, &c. inserted in our last, (p. 552.) we were told, that by a late particular and exact Account taken, it appears there are but 7842 empty Houses in the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, the Bills of Mortality, and the County of Middlesex, and not 10000 empty Houses, exclusive of Middlesex, within ten Miles of London: And we are also well assured, (says the Author of this Paragraph) that the Number of Houses, built on new Foundations within 14 Years past, is near twice the present Number of empty Houses.

The Mention of an Accident that happened near *Coway-Stakes* occasion'd the following Paragraph, *viz.* Having taken Notice of the famous *Coway-Stakes* (where *Cæsar* cross'd the River *Thames* with his Army) we take this Opportunity to rectify a Mistake in *Cambden*, and other Antiquarians, who assert, *That Cæsar forded the River at Coway-Stakes, near Chertsey, in Surrey*: Horsley in his *Britannia Romana*, is of Opinion, *the Ford was near Kingston, in Surrey*. --Whereas *Coway-Stakes* are just above *Walton* in Surrey, which is about five Miles on this Side *Chertsey*, and ten Miles beyond *Kingston*, by Water; and the Meadow facing the Stakes is now call'd *Coway*; they are to be seen in a very dry Summer, when the Water is low; one of them was pull'd out of the *Thames* about two Years ago, but with great Diffi-

culty; they are of Oak, and tho' they have lain so long in the Water, are as hard as *Brass*, and black as Jet: At *Shepperton* they have several Knife-Handles made of them.

THURSDAY, 21.

Was presented to their Majesties, and the Royal Family at St. James's, *Jane Webb*, the tall Woman, born at *Castle Dunnington* in *Leicestershire*, and lately arriv'd in Town from *Northampton*. She is but 22 Years of Age, and upwards of seven Foot high.

The Ways from the *Essex* great Road to *Tilbury*, where her Royal Highness the Princess of Orange purpos'd to cross to *Gravesend*, being found impassable, the Rout which was at first settl'd for her was alter'd; and her Royal Highness return'd to London, and without making any Stay, cross'd the Bridge in her Way to *Dover*, in order to embark for *Calais*. The same Day she pass'd thro' *Dartford*, where she was receiv'd with great Acclamations of Joy.

SUNDAY, 24.

This Morning about Eight o'Clock, a Messenger arriv'd express from *Dover*, with Letters from the Princess of Orange to their Majesties, which brought an Account that her Royal Highness got there the Day before in perfect Health, and design'd to embark for *Calais* with the first fair Wind.

The King of France wrote with his own Hand, a most obliging Letter to his Majesty King George, thanking his Majesty for the Honour done him, in ordering the Princess Royal of Great Britain to take her Passage thro' Part of France, to go to the Prince of Orange, her Confort, in Holland; assuring his Majesty of a safe Conduct for her Royal Highness, and of all the Honours due to so excellent a Princess.

MONDAY, 25.

Came on before the Court of Delegates at *Serjeants Inn Hall* in *Chancery-lane*, for final Determination, the Cause of *Hyde* and *Mason* against *Limbury*, relating to two Wills of *Samuel Mason* of *Queen's-square*, *Westminster*, Esq; deceased; when after several learned Arguments of Counsel on both Sides, the Court thought fit (after a long Consideration) to confirm the Sentence given for the first Will in the Prerogative Court of *Canterbury*, in Favour of Mr. *Limbury*.

The following Scheme having been drawn up and perus'd by some Members of the House of Commons, has met with their Approbation, and 'tis said, will be laid before the Parliament the next Session, in order for its passing into an Act, *viz.* *That the several Parish Officers in this Kingdom shall be obliged to take into Custody all sturdy Beggars, Gypsies, Vagrants, or other Persons without Employment, who may be found strolling about their respective Liberties, and carry them before one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, who shall commit them to Prison till the next Quarter-Session.*



## MARRIAGES, &c. in NOVEMBER, 1734. 607

*Sessions, where if any of their Friends, or the Officers of the Parish they belong to, appear and promise to take care of them for the future, they shall be releas'd; but if they can give no Account of themselves, they shall be sent over to the new Settlements in America, &c.*

WEDNESDAY, 27.

Was held a General Court of the Governors of *Christ's-Hospital*, when it was agreed, amongst other Things, to nominate forty new Governors: It was also unanimously agreed to accept of a Legacy of Mr. *Samuel Davenport*, lately deceased, for a Dinner for the Children of the said *Hospital* yearly, for ever, of Pork or Veal, on the 8th Day of *March*, or the 23d of *April*, the one being the Accession, and the other the Coronation of her late Majesty *Queen Anne*: And likewise to accept of a Legacy left by Mrs. *Sarah Lorrain*, Widow, deceased, for a Dinner of Veal on the 1st of *August* yearly, for ever, for the said Children, the said Day being the Anniversary of the Accession of his late Majesty.

THURSDAY, 28.

This being the last Day of Term, one *Cotes* was brought to the *King's-Bench-Bar*, in order to receive Sentence for a high Misdemeanor, in putting off a false or counterfeit Guinea, knowing it to be such, and at the same Time having several more of that bad Metal found upon him: The Court explain'd to him the Heinousness of his Crime, which, in their Opinion, amounted even to high Treason; but, in Regard to his great Family, long Imprisonment already, and Poverty, they adjudg'd that he should stand twice in the Pillory, viz. at *Newcastle upon Tyne* and at *Kingston upon Hull*, on publick Market-Days, suffer one Year's Imprisonment in the *King's-Bench*, and find Security for his good Behaviour for three Years.

FRIDAY, 29.

A Gentleman waited on their Majesties at *St. James's*, and acquainted the Court, that on *Thursday* about Four in the Afternoon, he saw her Royal Highness the Princess of *Orange* land at *Calais*.

### MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

**M**R. *Ladbrook*, a great Distiller near *DoFor's-Commons*, married to Miss *Browne*, Daughter of Mr. *Browne*, a Chymist in *Fish-street*, a Fortune of near 6000l.

Mr. *Asbust*, a Sugar-Baker in *Distaff-Lane*, to Miss *Thompson*, eldest Daughter of the late *William Thompson*, Esq;

Mr. *Rich* of *Farrington, Berks*, to Miss *Pye*, third Daughter of *Henry Pye*, Esq; of the same Place.

*George Bentley*, of *Whorwell* in *Hampshire*, Esq; to Mrs. *Barker*, only Daughter

and Coheir of the late *Richard Barker*, of *Enford* in *Wiltshire*, Esq; a 25000l. Fortune.

*Thomas Savage*, Esq; of *Middle Scotland-Yard*, to Miss *Westby*, a 12,000l. Fortune.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Lord *Baltimore*, safely deliver'd of a Daughter.

The Lady of the Hon. *Peter Batburs*, Esq; Brother of the Right Hon. the Lord *Batburs*, also safely delivered of a Daughter.

*Henry Popple*, Esq; Under-Treasurer of the Queen's Household, married to Miss *Anne Moore*, eldest Daughter of the late Sir *Joseph Edmunds Moore*, of *Berkhamstead* in *Hertfordshire*, Bart. and Sister to the present Sir *Joseph Moore*, Bart. a 6000l. Fortune.

*Birkhead Pratt*, Esq; an eminent Port Merchant, to Miss *Jane Bearsley*, Daughter to *Peter Bearsley*, Esq; a very eminent Wine-Merchant.

The Right Hon. the Lord *Galloway* to Miss *Jenny Westenra*.

Capt. *Du Terme*, Son of Col. *Du Terme*, to the Hon. Miss *Evans*, Daughter to the Right Hon. the Lord *Carbery* of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

Capt. *Chapman*, of *Northfleet* in *Kent*, to Mrs. *Jane Horsmanden*, Sister to *William Horsmanden Turner*, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Maidstone*.

### DEATHS.

**A**T *Edinburgh*, the Right Hon. the Baroness *Somerville*, Lady of *James Lord Somerville*, of *Drum* in *Edinburghshire*, and of *Spy-Park, Wiltshire*.

Mr. *Presgrave*, an eminent *Russia* Merchant, reputed worth 40,000l.

Mrs. *Fuller*, Wife to *John Fuller* of *Red-Lyon-Square*, Esq; late Sheriff of *London*.

*Henry Raines*, L. L. D. Chancellor of the Diocese of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*.

*Henry Bowater*, Esq; Treasurer of *St. Bartholomew's-Hospital*.

*Mary Countess* of *Uxbridge*, Wife of *Henry Earl* of *Uxbridge*.

Brigadier-General *Jones*, Colonel of a Regiment of Foot in the *Leeward Islands*.

Mr. *Samuel Davenport*, Warfinger, reputed worth upwards of 10,000l. Who left the Legacy to *Christ's-Hospital*, as above.

Hon. *John Hobart*, Esq; Brigadier-General, and Captain and Governor of *Pendennis-Castle* in *Cornwall*.

Hon. Miss *Forbes*, Sister to the late Lord *Forbes*, of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

Mrs. *Hedworth*, a Maiden Lady, Sister to *John Hedworth*, Esq; Member of Parliament for the County of *Durham*.

On the 14th, N. S. died at *Paris*, the Lady *Louise Renée de Penencouët*, Dutches of *Portsmouth*, Countess of *Farnham*, and Baroness of *Petersfield*, in the County of *Sou-*  
*thampton*;

608 DEATHS, &c. in NOVEMBER, 1734.

*thampton*; and Dutchess of *Aubigny* in *France*, aged 86. By the Death of her Grace, the Dukedom of *Aubigny* in *France*, devolves upon the present Duke of *Richmond*, her Grandson; and a very large Estate comes to his Grace.

*Waller Bacon*, Esq; Member of the present Parliament for *Norwich*, which City he had represented six Times.

*George Crookbank*, Esq; in the Commission of Peace for the County of *Middlesex*.

*John Norton*, Esq; also in the Commission of Peace for the same County.

Capt. *Briscoe*, who had a Company in Col. *Harrison's* Regiment of Foot.

At *Stamford* in *Northamptonshire*, *Noah Neale*, Esq; Steward for many Years to the Earl of *Exeter*; he was Father of Mrs. *Bosworth*, Wife of *John Bosworth*, Esq; Chamberlain of *London*.

Lord *Edward Herbert*, second Son to the Marquiss of *Perwis*.

At *Madrid*, the Right Hon. *William North*, Lord *North* and *Grey*, Lieutenant-General in his Catholick Majesty's Service.

*William Jessop*, Esq; at his Seat of *Broom-Hall* in the County of *York*. He was one of the *Welch* Judges, and one of the Commissioners and Receiver-General of the Alienation-Office. He was Member of Parliament for *Aldborough* in *Yorkshire*, and had been chose there in all the Parliaments from the first Year of King *George I.*

*Edward Thompson*, Esq; Father to *Edward Thompson*, Esq; one of the Representatives for the City of *York*.

Capt. *O'Neal*, in *Newgate*, who in September Sessions last, was tried and convicted for inlisting Men into Foreign Service.

*Thomas Lutwyche*, Esq; one of his Majesty's Council learned in the Law, and Member of Parliament for the Borough of *Agmondesham* in the County of *Bucks*.

Mr. *Solomon Smith*, Steward to their Graces the late and present Dukes of *Portland*, and Riding-Master to one of the Troops of Guards.

Mrs. *Anne Crowley*, Daughter of the late Mr. Alderman *Crowley*.

The Lady of Dr. *Fullerton*, Physician to *Christ's* Hospital.

The Rev. Mr. *Warner*, Rector of *Hascomb* near *Guildford* in *Surrey*.

*John London*, Esq; formerly Member of Parliament for *Wilson* in *Wiltshire*, a noted *Blackwell-Hall* Factor, and one of the Clothiers of the Army.

Mrs. *Alice Sandys*, Relict of the late *Windfor Sandys*, Esq; formerly Sheriff for the County of *Gloucester*.

Mrs. *Bere*, Relict of *Thomas Bere*, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Tiverton* in *Devonshire*.

At *Marybone*, *George Bentley*, Esq; poss'd of an Estate of 600l. per Annum.

In the Liberty of the *Fleet*, aged 81, Sir *Matthew Jenisson*, Knt. formerly Member of Parliament for *Newark upon Trent*.

At *Hammersmith*, aged 84, Mrs. *Eleanor Estwick*, Relict of the late *Humbry Estwick*, Esq;

The Right Hon. the Lord *James Hamilton*, Earl and Baron of *Abercorn*, and Baron of *Paisly* (*Scotch* Honours) and Viscount and Baron of *Strabane* in *Ireland*. He is succeeded in Honour and Estate by his eldest Son the Lord *Paisly*, now Earl of *Abercorn*.

ECCLIASTICAL PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Cbevenix*, Chaplain to her Royal Highness the Princess of *Orange*, presented by the Earl of *Chesterfield* to the Rectory of *Gedling*, *Nottinghamshire*.

Mr. *Francis Webber*, to the Rectory of *St. Clement's*, *Oxon*.

Dr. *Kenrick*, inducted into the Living of *St. Margaret's*, *Westminster*, in the Room of Dr. *Hargrave*, who resigned.

Right Rev. Dr. *Charles Cecil*, Bishop of *Bristol*, translated to the See of *Bangor*.

Mr. *Smallbroke*, made Chancellor of the Diocese of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*.

Mr. *Downay*, made Prebendary of *Canterbury*.

Mr. *Morgan*, presented to the Rectory of the United Parishes of *St. Mary Beadman* and *St. Andrew's*, *Canterbury*.

Mr. *Richards*, to the Rectory of *Norton*, in the Diocese of *Canterbury*.

Dr. *Etboffe* of *Norwich*, to the Living of *Therfield*, *Hertfordshire*, void by the Promotion of the Lord Bishop of *Bangor* to the See of *Salisbury*.

Mr. *Vade*, to the Living of *Eastbam*, *Essex*.

Mr. *John Asb*, to the Rectory of *Crosby*, *Lincolnshire*.

His Majesty was pleased to issue his Cong'd'Elire to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of *Carlisle*, to elect *George Fleming*, Doctor of Laws, to be Bishop of that See, void by the Death of the Right Rev. Father in God Dr. *John Waugh*, late Bishop thereof.

Mr. *John Clarke* presented to the Prebend of *Lime and Halstock*, in the Cathedral Church of *Salisbury*.

Mr. *Thomas Dene*, to the Rectory of *Clown*, in the County of *Derby*, and Diocese of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*.

Dr. *John Salter*, Prebendary of *Norwich*, collated by the Lord Bishop of that Diocese, to the Archdeaconry of *Norfolk*, vacant by the



the Resignation of Dr. *Baron*, the Dean of the said Church.

Mr. *Stubbe*, Vicar of *Eyton-Bray* in *Bedfordshire*, and Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of *Bridgewater*, presented by the Master and Fellows of *Trinity-College, Cambridge*, to the Vicarage of *Merfworth* in *Buckinghamshire*.

Dr. *John Middleton* chosen by a great Majority of the Common Council of *London*, Rector of *St. Peter's Cornhill*, in the room of the Bishop of *Carlisle*, deceased.

#### PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

**L**ORD *Dursley* made an Ensign of a Company in the second Regiment of Guards, in the room of Ensign *Macro*, promoted.

— *Spilman*, Esq; one of the Directors of the Bank, and Mr. *Stevens*, Surgeon to his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, were elected Fellows of the Royal Society.

Mr. *Vincent Bourne*, one of the Assistants of *Westminster School*, appointed to succeed *Thomas Ward*, Esq; deceased, as House-keeper to the House of Commons, as also to be Deputy Serjeant at Arms to the said House.

The Countess of *Tankerville* appointed to succeed the Countess of *Suffolk*, in her Place of Mistress of the Robes to her Majesty.

His Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales* has appointed *Noel Broxolme*, M. D. to be his Physician in Ordinary, in the room of Dr. *Clifton*, with a Salary annex'd.

His Majesty has been pleas'd to grant unto *Thomas Lord Malton*, the Dignities of a Baron, Viscount, and Earl of the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, by the Name, Style and Title of Baron *Watb* in the County of *York*, and of *Harrowden* in the County of *Northampton*, Viscount *Higbam* of *Higbam Ferrers* in the said County of *Northampton*, and Earl of *Malton* in the said County of *York*.

*Robert Westley*, Esq; unanimously elected Treasurer of *St. Bartholomew's-Hospital*, in the room of *Henry Bowater*, Esq; deceased.

His Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales* declared Col. *John Schutz*, Privy-Purse and Groom of the Bed-Chamber to his Royal Highness, Lord Warden of the Stannaries (the Mines and Works where Tin is digged and purified in *Cornwall*) in the room of *Hugh Viscount Falmouth*, deceased.

Lieut. *Robert Mason* of Col. *Hargrave's* Regiment of Foot, quarter'd at *Bristol*, made Captain of a Company in Col. *Harrison's* Regiment, quarter'd in *York City*, in the room of Capt. *Joseph Briscoe*, deceased.

#### Persons declared BANKRUPTS.

**F**RANCIS *Hatt*, Citizen of *London*, Carpenter, and late of *Peckham*, in the County of *Surrey*, Broker and Chapman.

*John Curtis*, of *Aldermanbury-Postern, London*, Distiller.

*James Johnson*, of *Rosemary-Lane*, in the Parish of *St. Mary Matfellow*, otherwise *Whitechapel*, in the County of *Middlesex*, Carpenter.

*Thomas Tombes*, late of *Oxford-Road*, in the Parish of *St. Mary le Bone*, in the County of *Middlesex*, Distiller.

*Charles Swan*, of *Cheapside, London*, Chapman and Glass-feller.

*James Hemming*, of *Evesham*, in the County of *Worcester*, Chandler.

*William Wigan*, late of *King-street, London*, Coffee-man, Broker and Chapman.

*John Wilkinson*, of the City of *Chester*, Apothecary.

*John Grosfield*, of *Holm-Hill*, in the Parish of *Burton*, in the County of *Westmoreland*, Chapman and Malster.

*John Farden*, of *Southwark*, in the County of *Surrey*, Chapman.

*Henry Nugent*, of *Carnaby-Market*, in the Parish of *St. James, Westminster*, Dealer in *Dorchester-Beer*, Warehouseman and Chapman.

*Aaron Durell*, late of the Town and County of *Poole*, Ironmonger.

*Joseph Mason*, of *Blackman-street, Southwark*, in the County of *Surrey*, Distiller.

*John Arnall*, of the City of *Norwich*, Worstead-Weaver.

*John Whall*, late of *Trowse-Milgate*, in the County of the City of *Norwich*, Beer-Brewer.

*Ellen Kidzell* and *Elizabeth Willey*, of *Sticks-Market, London*, Milliners and Partners.

*William Miller*, late of *Smithfield, London*, Vintner.

*Stephen Tate*, late of the Parish of *St. Giles's in the Fields*, in the County of *Middlesex*, Dealer in Cattle and Chapman.

*John Clegg*, late of *Spittlefields*, in the County of *Middlesex*, Chapman.

*John Watson*, of *Bradford*, in the County of *York*, Grocer.

*Richard Green*, late of the City of *Lincoln*, Woolen-Draper.

*Humbry Joston*, of the Heath, near *Stourbridge*, in the County of *Worcester*, Glass-maker and Chapman.

*John James*, late of *Abingdon*, in the County of *Berks*, Butcher and Chapman.

Prices

# 610 Prices of Goods, &c. in NOVEMBER, 1734:

Towards the End of the Month.

## STOCKS.

S. Sea 80 $\frac{1}{2}$	Afric. 20
—Bonds l. 3 6	Royal Aff. 97
—Annu. 104 $\frac{1}{8}$	Lon. ditto 12
Bank 136 $\frac{1}{2}$	Y. Build. 4
—Circ. l. 3 15	3 per C. An. 93
Mil. Bank 107	Eng. Copper 2l.
India 143 a $\frac{1}{4}$	Welsh dit.
—Bonds 3l. 11	Equivalent 105

## The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst. 35 10	Bilboa 40 $\frac{1}{8}$
D. Sight 35 8	Leghorn 50 $\frac{1}{2}$
Rotter. 35 11 a 10	Genoa 53
Hamb. 35 7	Venice 50 $\frac{1}{4}$
P. Sight 32 $\frac{3}{8}$	Lisb. 5 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ a 6
Bourd. 31 $\frac{1}{8}$	Oport. 5 5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Gadiz 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{3}{8}$	Anteo. 36
Madrid 40 $\frac{1}{2}$	Dublin 11 $\frac{1}{4}$

## Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

Wheat 36 25	Oates 9 14
Rye 16 18	Tares 18 23
Barley 16 20	Pease 20 22
H. Beans 16 20	H. Pease 16 19
P. Malt 18 23	B. Malt 16 22

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from Oct. 22. to Nov. 26.

Christned	Males 827	Females 779	1606
Buried	Males 1178	Females 1192	2370

Died under 2 Years old	885
Between 2 and 5	244
5 10	109
10 20	103
20 30	172
30 40	224
40 50	199
50 60	168
60 70	125
70 80	73
80 90	61
90 and upwards	7
	2370

## Prices of Goods, &c. in London. Hay 36s. to 42s. a Load.

Coals per Chaldron 27 to 28	Ditto second Sort 46s. a 50	Muslick white 4s. od.
New Hops p. Hun. 5l. 10s. a 6l.	Loaf Sugar double ref. 12d.	Opium 9s.
Old Hops 3l. 10s. a 4l.	Ditto single refine 8d.	Quicksilver 4s. 3d
Rape Seed 10l. a 11l.	Grocery Wares by the lb.	Rhubarb 18 a 25s.
Lead the Fodder 19 Hun. 1 half	Cinamon 7s. 8d.	Sarsaparilla 3s.
on board, 14l. a 14l. 10s.	Cloves 9s. 1d.	Saffron English 22s 6d
Tin in Blocks 3l. 16	Mace 15s.	Wormseeds none
Ditto in Bars 3l. 18s.	Nutmegs 8s. 7d.	Balsam Copaiva 3s. od.
Copper Eng. best 5l. 5s.	Sugar Candy white 14d. a 18d.	Balsam of Gilead 20s.
Ditto ordinary 4l. 16s. a 5l.	Ditto brown 6d.	Hypocucuanæ 4s. 6d. a 5s
Ditto Barbary 8s. a 9ol.	Pepper for home consump. 16d.	Ambergreece per oz. 8s.
Iron of Bilboa 15l. 5s. per Ton.	Ditto for Exportation 12d. half.	Wine, Brandy, and Rum.
Ditto of Sweden 16l. 10s.	Tea Bohea fine 10s. a 12s.	Oporto red per Pipe 25s 26l.
Tallow 28s. a 30	Ditto ordinary 8 a 9s.	Ditto white none
Country Tallow 27s. od.	Ditto Congo 10 a 12s.	Lisbon red 35l. a 40
Carbuncle 19s. od.	Ditto Pekoe 14 a 16s.	Ditto white 26 a 28l.
Grocery Wares by the C.	Ditto Green fine 9 a 12s.	Sberry 26l.
Raisins of the S. new 32s.	Ditto Imperial 9 a 12s.	Canary new 25 a 28l.
Ditto Malaga Frailes 17s.	Ditto Hyson 20 a 25s.	Ditto old 32 a 34l.
Ditto Smirna new 22s.	Drugs by the lb.	Florence 3l.
Ditto Alicant 18s.	Balsam Peru 14s.	French red 30l. a 40l.
Ditto Lipra new 19s.	Cardamoms 3s. 3d.	Ditto white 20l.
Ditto Belvedere 29s.	Campfire refin'd 9s. 6d.	Mountain Malaga old 24l.
Currents new 35s.	Crabs Eyes 1s. 8d.	Ditto new 20 l. a 21l.
Prunes French none	Jallop 2s. 8d	Brandy Fr. per Gal. 7s. 4d
Figs 20s.	Manna 2s. 6d. a 4s	Rum of Jam. 6 a 7s.
Sugar Powder best 54 a 59s.		Dit. Lew. Islands 6s. 4d. 6s. 10d.

FROM



FROM *Vienna*: That an Express was arriv'd there from *Constantinople*, with Advice, that a Divan had been held there, and that as soon as it broke up, the Grand Vizier having sent for the *Imperial, British, Russian and Dutch* Ambassadors, assur'd them in the Name of his Master, that the Porte was resolv'd to maintain religiously the Peace with all *Christian* Powers, and that they might assure their respective Masters thereof.

From *Worms*: The News we told you last Post, concerning the Dispositions made by the *Imperialists* to quit this City, and the Preparations of the *French* to come and take Possession of it, are entirely confirmed.

From *Berlin*: That the Nuptials of the Princess, fourth Daughter of the King of *Prussia*, with the Margrave of *Brandenburg-Schwedt*, Nephew to the Prince of *Anhalt*, his Majesty's Favourite and Prime Minister, were solemnized at the Royal Palace at *Potsdam*, with great Magnificence. This Princess was born in 1720, and has a younger Sister about ten Years of Age: Her three eldest Sisters are married to the Prince of *Bareith*, to the Margrave of *Anspach*, Nephew to Queen *Caroline*, and to the Hereditary Prince of *Brunswick-Beveren*.

From *Brussels*: The following Scheme of an Accommodation is handed about here. 1. King *Stanislaus* shall remain King of *Poland*, and Great Duke of *Lithuania*, in Consideration whereof *France* restores to the Empire all the Conquests she has taken from the same since the Commencement of the present War. 2. King *Augustus* shall succeed King *Stanislaus*, and bear the Title of King during his Reign. 3. *Don Carlos* shall marry the Emperor's youngest Daughter, who shall have both the *Sicilies* for her Portion. 4. The Duke of *Lorraine* shall marry the Emperor's eldest Daughter, and be declared King of *Hungary*. 5. Endeavours shall be used to give Satisfaction to all the Princes of the Empire, with Regard to their Pretensions, and to redress all religious Grievances.

From *Naples*: That the brave Count *Tranun*, Governor of *Capua*, perceiving that the *Spanish* Troops which form the Blockade of that Place were separated by the River *Vulturno*, and having Intimation that the Bridge of Communication had been carried away on the 3d Instant, at Night, by the Rains, he made a Sally the next Morning with 4000 Men; and having placed 6 Pieces of Cannon, charg'd with small Shot, upon Carriages that resembled Baggage-Waggons, the *Spaniards*, surpriz'd at the Novelty of the Design, suffer'd them to advance to their very Front, when on a sudden the Count order'd the Cannon to be fir'd, and the Troops, who had been partly conceal'd behind the Waggons, falling at the same Time upon the Enemy, the Havock they made was inexpressible: Of

1000 *Spaniards* 600 were laid dead on the Spot; the rest threw themselves into the River and swam over, excepting about 50 or 60 who were drowned in the Attempt.

From *Frankfort*. Letters from *Mantua* bring Advice, that the Army of the Allies retired the 18th from the Banks of the *Oglio*, abandoning *Modena, Guastalla, Carpi*, &c. and were marched towards *Cremona*: That thereupon the *Imperial* Army pass'd the *Oglio*, and extended their Quarters, in order to give the Enemy Battle.

The Difficulties which the Allies suffer'd for Want of Forage, is not easily credible: Their Horses had almost forgot the Taste of Hay, and there being no Grass for them, the very Roots of the Herbage were eaten up; they were obliged to feed on the Leaves of Trees, whilst any could be got, and afterwards upon the Bark of the Willows; and at last the poor Soldiers were forc'd to give them the Straw from their Tents, as the sole Means left to subsist them.

At the same Time that Count *Konigsegg* pass'd the *Oglio*, General *Wallis* pass'd the *Po*, in order to inviron the ally'd Army. Count *Konigsegg* came up once with their Rear-Guard, but it gave Way, and little Mischief was done. The Battlements of *Cremona* are furnish'd with 160 Pieces of Cannon. *Modena, Carpi, Reggio, and Guastalla* having small Garrisons in them, are reckon'd already in the Hands of the *Imperialists*; and 'tis said, that the Situation of the Allies is such, that the *Germans* can prevent the Arrival of their Succours, and even starve them out, if they do not engage them.

Letters from *Italy* mention, that the *Imperial* Army was advanc'd into the *Cremonese*, very near to that of the Allies; and that the King of *Sardinia*, having distributed to his Troops a Quantity of Powder and Ball, after the Rate of 8 Charges a Man, his Majesty spoke to them in a very affectionate Manner, and concluded, *My Friends, we have once more Need of your Courage, the Moment is at hand, that must decide our Glory or Destruction*. Those Letters add, that the *Imperial* Army consisted of full 40,000 Men, and that the Generals were fully determin'd to make a decisive Push. The Cry of the *German* Soldiers ran throughout the whole Army, *Die or Conquer*.

From the *Hague*: That the Negotiations for Peace are at a Stand there, till the Answers arrive from the ally'd Courts, with Respect to his *Imperial* Majesty's late Declaration of accepting the Mediation of the Maritime Powers. 'Tis added, that with what Impatience soever these are expected, News from *Lombardy* is much more so; the Effect of a decisive Battle at *Cremona* being judg'd the likeliest Means to forward an Accommodation.

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